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Napoleon Buonaparte.

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THE

LIFE

OF

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE,

CONTAINING

EVERY AUTHENTIC PARTICULAR

By which his extraordinary Character has been formed;

WITH A CONCISE

HISTORY OF THE EVENTS

THAT HAVE OCCASIONED

HIS UNPARALLELED ELEVATION,

AND A

PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW

OF HIS MANNERS AND POLICY AS

A Soldier, a Statesman, and a Sovereign.

INCLUDING

Memoirs and Original Anecdotes

OF

THE IMPERIAL FAMILY,

AND THE

MOST CELEBRATED CHARACTERS THAT HAVE APPEARED IN FRANCE

DURING THE REVOLUTION.

VOL I.

32122

BY

WILLEM LODEWYK VAN-ESS.

FOURTH EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

TO write the Life of NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE *is to record the Origin and the Progress of that wonderful Revolution which has convulsed the civilized world, and destroyed and dismembered some of its mightiest and most ancient States and Principalities; which has alternately formed Kingdoms into Republics, and Republics into Kingdoms: and which has surprised the Universe, by exhibiting an obscure Individual advancing himself to the greatest height of human elevation, and securing his power by a sublimity of arrangement that threatens to baffle the attempts of the most refined hostility.*

Whether such an Individual should be ultimately successful or not, his Memoirs, and the Facts with which they are connected, must be equally interesting; and the lessons to be gained by his success or his fall must be equally important.

To render any character instructive, it must be impartially given; and the Biographer, in the pre-

sent instance, has sedulously avoided attributing any action to a wrong motive, and been careful neither improperly to approve, nor unjustly to condemn. His situation in life has afforded him the means of observation, without enrolling him either among the flatterers or the enemies of Buonaparté; and, without having attempted to depreciate any similar undertaking, he has endeavoured to render his own deserving of public approbation

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The rapid sale of three extensive Editions of the above Work, in the course of sixteen months, relieves the Proprietors of the unpleasant task of speaking of its merits;—they have only thankfully to acknowledge the almost unprecedented patronage of the Public, and to inform them, that, in consequence of the numerous applications for a Superior Edition, they are induced to offer it in the present form.—Particular care has been taken as to its revision; and they trust, from the superior style of the Embellishments, and the neatness of the Letter Press, they shall still receive their generous support.

LONDON, January 14, 1808.

LIFE

OF

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.

CHAPTER I.

Anecdotes of Infancy unimportant....Birth of Buonaparté....Count Marbœuf and Buonaparté's Mother....Her Infidelity....Reflections on Calumny....Buonaparté's reputed Illegitimacy and the Crimes of his Family....His Admission into the Royal Military School at Brienne....Account of the French Royal Military Schools....Early Disposition of Buonaparté....His Garden at Brienne....Studies.... Father Patrault....Library of the Pupils'....Buonaparté's retired Pursuits and Literary Recreations....Attachment to Corsica....St. Napoleon....Buonaparté's Love of Paoli....Hatred of the Genoese, and its Consequences to a Corsican Pupil....His contempt of the French who served in Corsica....His austerity....The Leader of Rebellions in the School....Juvenile Military Battalion....Buonaparté an Officer....Tried, and disgraced....Director of the School Diversions....Institutes ancient Military Sports, which are suppressed by the Superiors....A Winter Campaign....Buonaparté Commander in Chief....His Fortifications, and his Violence of Temper....St. Louis's Day, and the Hilarity of the Pupil's....Buonaparté's Retirement and Gloom....Fireworks....A dreadful Explosion....Buonaparté's Revenge ....M. le Chevalier de Renault removes him to the Royal Military School at Paris....Character of Buonaparté....Monge....Laureston.... Dupont....Bourienne....Buonaparté's Studies at Paris....He enters the Corps of Artillery....His factious Sentiments....Death of Count Marbœuf....Buonaparté escapes being drowned by some Officers.... His Hopes from the popular Discontents.

THE legendary narrations of the infantine actions and pusuits of the Subject of these Memoirs are as numerous and as doubtful as those which have been told of other great and extraordinary men. The peurilities of

childhood, however, are below the dignity of biographical record; they do not increase our stores of useful knowledge, and are incapable of improving our judgment; they are only objects of curiosity to a mind debilitated by dotage, or weakened by an undeviating pursuit after trifles, and are, therefore, unworthy either of our inquiry or our notice.

Napoleon Buonaparté was born on the 15th of August, 1769, at Ajaccio, a small town in the island of Corsica. He was the eldest son of Carlo Buonaparté a lawyer, of Italian extraction, by his wife Letitia Raniolini; and it has been said, that General Paoli was his godfather. General Count Marbœuf was the early patron of Napoleon; he had conquered Corsica for the kingdom of France, and was appointed Governor of the Island. His protection became advantageous to the family of Buonaparté, and it is reported to have been excited by the charms of Napoleon's mother, that her blandishments obtained the Count's warmest regards, and that he rewarded her intimations of fondness by an attachment disgraceful to her reputation, and dishonourable to her husband; that these solicitations were but a continuation of the conduct she adopted towards others previous to her marriage; that she was then notoriously unchaste, and that her connection with the Count, at the same time that it confirmed her husband's suspicion of her infidelity, also gave him Napoleon for an heir.

The elevation of individuals, from low stations, to exalted ranks in life, whether by their merits, their crimes, or their intrigue, has always afforded the malignant an opportunity of calumny, and the curious a fund of inquiry; the hatred of the one, and the frivolity of the other, are like injurious to truth; the one will forge a fact, and the credulity of the other, pronounce it genuine and give it currency; and thus the vile and the virtuous are equally subject to misrepresentation and abuse. Those narrations, therefore, which indiscriminately impute to the

family and connexions of Buonaparté the commission of flagrant and detestable crimes, and incorrigible depravity of heart, should be listened to with a cautious reserve, and such as elude enquiry as to their origin, or whose origin does not fully prove their authenticity, we have no sufficient warranty to believe.

The story of Buonaparté's illegitimacy is, at present, destitute of the authority we require; but, be his origin what it may, he became so much an object of the Count of Marbœuf's protection, as to have been admitted, by his influence with the Mareschal de Segur, the French Minister at War, as an *Eleve du Roi*, into *L'Ecole Royal Militaire*, at Brienne, in the province of Champaigne. It was there that he acquired a knowledge of the military and political sciences, which he has since so well matured by experience, and which has enabled him to lead mighty armies to battle, and to conquer,—which has brought princes to his feet, to sue for the nominal possession of their states,—which has procured for him kingdoms, that he has bestowed on those whom he chose to create sovereigns, and which has given him the uncontrouled and the absolute dominion of an empire, that he has raised to be the mightiest on the continent of Europe, and has seated him on the throne of the most ancient and powerful dynasties of the civilized world.

The school at Brienne was one of the thirteen Royal Military Schools, or colleges, which were established in various provinces of the kingdom of France, and they were particularly patronised by the two last sovereigns of the Bourbon family. These establishments were magnificently endowed, and the pupils enjoyed every advantage which was essential to their domestic convenience. The most able masters superintended their education, and they were principally encouraged to acquire a competent knowledge of the ancient and modern languages, geography, history, the mathematics, and every branch of military science. These pursuits were, however, enlivened by

the charms of elegant literature; the *utile* and the *dulce* were occasionally blended, and the fatigue of mind arising from abstruse inquiries, was succeeded by an indulgence in studies that were less elaborate. The pupils were also expected to partake in such amusements as inure the constitutions to toils which men, trained to the military service, are likely to experience. The rules of these schools put in requisition all the talents and activity of the pupils, directed their curiosity to subjects the most likely to display their ingenuity in discussing them, and, by exercising their minds and bodies, happily attempered the corporeal and mental faculties to the advantage of their country.

L'Ecole Royal Militaire at Paris was at the head of the other military schools in the provinces, and it was to this school that not only subordination was acknowledged by the pupils of the others; but to which they looked forward as the haven for all the youths of pre-eminent genius that the military schools of the provinces had educated. Examinations were annually held in the presence of a royal inspector, who was, most commonly, a general officer, and of two members of the French academy; and such pupils, whose proficiency in study qualified them for candidates, and whose good reputation in the school was verified by the testimony of the regents, were then selected and admitted pupils of the Royal Military School at Paris. Here their studies were completed, and from hence they were honourably dismissed, and immediately attached to some regiment, or appointed to some military employment.

Napoleon Buonaparté arrived at the Royal Military School at Brienne, in the year 1779, being then only ten years old. At this early age, however, he discovered a peculiar temper of mind. He avoided the juvenile sports and amusements of the other pupils, and courted solitude and gloom; withdrawing himself from their mirth, he devoted his attention to sedentary, rather than to active

employment, and appeared entirely engaged in his own individual and retired pursuits. He seldom exposed himself to his schoool-fellows, for, as he came only as a monitor, they repulsed his reprimands and railleries by blows, which he received with indifference, returned with coolness, and never shunned by retreating from superior force.

A large plot of ground, adjoining the school, had been divided into a number of portions, and the boys were allowed to cultivate these portions, or appropriate them to such other purposes as they pleased. One of these parcels was alloted to Buonaparté and two other lads; he succeeded in prevailing on his two partners to give up their right to participate in the amusements which their ground would have afforded, and, having thus excluded all claim on the part of any one else, he proceeded to lay it out into a garden, which he took much pains to improve, and his attention to which was the principal part of his recreation. He expended the money which the Count Marbœuf had sent him for his pocket, in the construction of a strong pallisade around his garden, by which he rendered it difficult of access. The shrubs which he also planted, some of which were formed into impenetrable arbours, contributed to its seclusion from the grounds of the other boys, and increased the difficulties of their intrusion.

It does not appear, that on his first entrance at school, any extraordinary acquirements of learning marked an inordinate desire of instruction, or intenseness of application; he seems to have neglected, if not altogether rejected, in his early years, the attainment of the Latin language. He soon, however, applied himself with earnestness to the mathematics, the rudiments of which he was taught by Father Patrault, a minim, at Brienne. Fortification, and all the other branches of military science and tactics he studied with increasing ardour; and these, with

the reading of history, principally of ancient Rome and Greece, were his most delightful occupation.

During the period which Buonaparté continued at Brienne, a library was formed, for the amusement and instruction of the pupils, and which was to be under their entire direction. To give them proper notions of arrangement and order, their superiors left the distribution of the books and other affairs to the management of two of the boarders, chosen by their comrades. The calls of Buonaparté on one of these who was appointed librarian, were so often, and so much more frequent than the application of his companions, that the young man considered him tiresome, and sometimes lost his temper; Buonaparté was not less patient, nor less positive, and, on these occasions, extorted submission by blows.

The hours of vacation between his attendance on the preceptors of the school were spent in his garden, which he cultivated so assiduously as to preserve its interior in a state of order and cleanliness. Its boundaries became impervious, and enclosed a retreat that might have been coveted by a religious recluse: here, when his horticultural labours were ended, he retired to its arbours, with his mathematical and scientific works, and, surrounded by these and other books, chiefly on historical subjects, he meditated the reduction of the principles he had imbibed, to practice. He planned the attack and defence of fortified places, the arrangement of hostile corps in order of battle; calculated the chances of success on the one part, and of defeat on the other; altered their position, and formed charges and victories upon paper, and on the ground, which he, afterwards, realised with success when directing the evolutions of the French armies. His military ardour was increased by his historical reading; his enthusiasm was excited by the lives of those ancient legislators, heroes, and warriors, which are recorded by the venerable Plutarch, the splendour of whose actions have eclipsed the injustice at which they sometimes aimed, and which more

frequently originated in the daring purposes of the factious partisan, or in the desperate policy of the bold-faced tyrant, than in the laudable design of the intrepid patriot to free his country from despotism, or than in the resolution of the Chief of a free people, to preserve their independence, and secure their government from treachery. The Life of the Marshal, Prince of Saxony, was also a frequent recreation to Buonaparté after a close application to the mathematics. He persisted in all his studies with avidity

The Belles Lettres were not any source of his entertainment, his sole and undivided attention was to military acquirements, and a proficiency in the studies which form the habits of a warrior; polite or liberal accomplishments he appeared to consider that a soldier should disdain. He had, doubtless, heard of the achievements of Marlborough in the field, and, perhaps, that he had also studied the art of pleasing, "that by it he gained whoever he had a mind to gain; and he had a mind to gain everybody, because he knew that everybody was, more or less, worth gaining,"—But it was not by gracefulness of demeanour that Buonaparté designed to win; what he could not gain by mere force he never sought to attain by a display of any endeavours to please; what he could not possess by his power he never relinquished the pursuit of, but acquired it by stratagem, in which there was no seeming of his influence. He scorned the arts of a courtier, nor even employed them where it might have been supposed that no other attempt would succeed. All other means, which power, and the ingenuity of an uncultivated mind would have devised, he used, without hesitation. His comrades called him The Spartan, and he retained the name until he quited Brienne.

Buonaparté's attachment to Corsica was almost proverbial. It was usual for the boys to receive the communion and be confirmed on the same day, and the ceremony was performed at the Military School by the Archbishop:

when he came to Buonaparté, he asked him, like the rest, his Christian name: Buonaparté answered aloud. The name of Napoleon, being uncommon, escaped the Archbishop, who desired him to repeat it, which Buonaparté did, with an appearance of impatience. The minister who assisted, remarked to the Prelate "Napoleon! I do not know that saint." "Parblue! I believe it," observed Buonaparté, "the saint is a Corsican."

His fellow pupils frequently irritated him by calling him a French vassal: he retorted eagerly, and with bitterness. He sometimes declared a belief that his destiny was to deliver Corsica from its dependence on France. The name of Paoli he never mentioned but with reverence, and he aspired to the honour of achieving the design which the plans of that officer could not accomplish. Genoa had added to the calamity of his country by surrendering it to France, and thus exposed it to a subjection which it gallantly resisted, but to which superior force compelled submission. To the Genoese his hatred was inveterate and eternal; a young Corsican, on his arrival at the college, was presented to Bounaparté, by the other students, as a Genoese; the gloom of his countenance instantly kindled into rage, he darted upon the lad with vehemence, twisted his hands in his hair, and was only prevented using further violence by the immediate interference of the stronger boys, who dragged the lad away from his resentment. His anger rekindled against this youth for many weeks afterwards, as frequently as he came near him.

Buonaparté was always desirous of hearing accounts of the public transactions in Corsica. He revered his country, and never mentioned its resistance to France without enthusiasm. He listened with the most lively interest to the various successes of the Corsican patriots in arms. Some of the French officers who had served in Corsica, would frequently go to the school at Brienne, and the conversation often turned upon the Corsican war. They

would sometimes exaggerate their advantages over the Corsicans, and he allowed them to talk quietly on, occasionally, however, asking a shrewd question; but, when he was certain they had falsified a fact, he would eagerly exclaim, "Are you not ashamed, for a momentary gratification of vanity, to calumniate a whole nation?" At one time an officer was discribing a victory, that, he said, had been obtained by six hundred of the French, Buonaparté exclaimed, "You say there were six hundred of you in the engagement, I know you were six thousand, and that you were opposed only by a few wretched Corsican peasants." He then opened his journals and maps, and, referring to them, declaimed against the vainglorious boastings of the French officers.

His manners were very remarkable, his conduct was austere: pride was the prominent feature of his character; if he committed an error, it was not the fault of a boy, but the result of deliberation, and what, in mature age, would have been deemed a crime. His severity never forgave the offences of his companions. His resolves were immoveable, and his firmness in trifles tinctured his behaviour with obstinacy and eccentricity. Frequently engaged in quarrels, he was often the greatest sufferer, as he frequently contended on the weakest side, and though he was mostly singled out as an object of revenge, he never complained to his superiors of ill treatment. He meditated retailiation in silence, and if he could not inflict a punishment himself, he disdained appealing to an authority that could enforce it.

The boys of the school were, however, gradually familiarized to his temper, he would not bend to them, and they were contented to concede to him. He accepted this acknowledgment of his superiority, without any appearance of self gratulation, and although they could not esteem him for any of the milder virtues, they feared his inflexible nature, and allowed him either to indulge into seclusion, or to associate with themselves as he might

please. The insurrections of the scholars against the masters were frequent, and Buonaparté was either at the head of each rebellión or was selected to advocate their complaints. He was therefore generally selected as the leader, and suffered severe chastisement. He often vindicated his conduct, but never entreated pardon. He listened to reproach, and to reproof, to promises, and to threats, without emotions of fear or surprise. He was never humilated by those punishments that were intended to disgrace him, and the raillery of an ungenerous comrade, or a powerful superior, was equally received in sullen silence. He neither courted goodwill nor feared resentment.

The meetings of the boys were on the plan of a military establishment. They formed themselves into companies, each under the command of a captain and óther officers, and the whole composed a battalion, with a colonel at its head. The officers were chosen by the boys, and decorated by the ornaments usually attached to the French uniform. These distinctions of rank being conferred by the lads, were mostly the reward of some pre-eminent virtue or ability, they were therefore considered by those who were so fortunate to obtain them as an honourable *insignia* of merit. Buonaparté was unanimously chosen, and held the rank of Captain. He, however, by no means courted their approbation, for he was soon afterwards summoned before a court-martial, which was called with all due formality, and, on charges being proved against him, declared unworthy to command those comrades whose good-will he despised. The sentence disgraced him to the lowest rank in the battalion, he was stripped of the distinguishing marks of his command, but disdained to show that he was affected by the disgrace.

The younger boys, however, were partial to Buonaparté's manners, for he sometimes encouraged them in their sports, and occasionally pointed out some advantage which in their warlike plays had been omitted to be oc-

cupied, hence he associated with them, and they voted him, by acclamation, the Director of their Diversions. Thus, if he felt regret for the loss of his juvenile military rank, he was now recompensed by becoming the leader of the lads, who submitted to the authority they had bestowed on him, and which authority soon extended itself over all the youths in the school. Without being restricted to observe the rules which are essential to modern military duty, he could now bring his forces into the field, and direct all their operations. He availed himself of this new command, and he disciplined his comrades to a new mode of warfare.

Buonaparté divided his youthful comrades into two parties; they were alternately the Romans and the Carthaginians, the Greeks and the Persians. To represent the mode of fighting of the ancients in the open field, was more easy for these lads than to imitate the movements of an army of modern times. They were destitute of artillery, which in European battles are sometimes more decisive of the fate of the day than any weapons of individual use. In sham fights, indeed, the musket is more often used, because it more often happens that artillery is not to be obtained to heighten the effect of the contest; but the musket, which is the only weapon in the hands of the soldier, is insufficient to picture in a sham fight its effect in an actual engagement, which is oftener decided by the bayonet than by fire-arms. Buonaparté therefore instituted and encouraged the practice of the ancient warfare, he excited the enthusiasm of his youthful soldiery by his speeches and his actions; he led on one party against another, and the victory was often disputed with an obstinacy that would have honoured a more important struggle. If his troops fled, he recalled them, by his reproaches; by exposing himself to dangers he revived their ardour, and supported their intrepidity by his own bravery. These conflicts were often repeated, and the field of battle disputed with more firmness on every occasion. At

length the games, which commenced in sport, seldom closed until the wounds of the combatants proved the earnestness with which they contended. The Superiors of the college interfered, they reprimanded the young General Buonaparté, and a renewal of these battles was prohibited.

His activity repressed in the only exercise to which he was attached, Buonaparte retired to his favourite garden, resumed his former occupations, and appeared no more among his comrades until winter, the severity of the weather had driven him from his retreat. The snow had laid thick upon the ground, and a hard frost had set in, Buonaparté ever fertile in expedients, determined to open a winter campaign upon a new plan. The modern art of war succeeded to the ancient. Having been deeply engaged in the study of fortification, it was natural that he should be desirous of reducing its theory to practice. He called his fellow pupils around him, and collecting their gardening implements, he put himself at their head, and they proceeded to procure large quantities of snow, which were brought to particular spots in the great court of the school, as he directed. Whilst they were thus occupied, he was busied in tracing the boundaries of an extensive fortification; they soon formed intrenchments, and afterwards eagerly engaged in erecting forts, bastions, and redoubts of snow. They laboured with activity, and Buonaparté superintended their exertions.

The whole of these works were soon completed according to the exact rules of art. The curiosity of the people of Brienne, and even of strangers, was excited by the reports of their extent and scientific construction, and they went in crowds during the winter to admire them. Buonaparté, by turns headed the assailants and the opponents; he united address with courage, and directed the operations with great applause. The weapons of the contending parties were snow balls, and he continually kept up the interest by some military manœuvre, which always

surprised, if it did not astonish. The encounters were equally earnest with those of the summer campaign, but the arms were different. The superiors now encouraged these games of the boys, by praising those who distinguished themselves. The sports continued throughout the winter, and it was not until the sun of the month of March 1784, liquified the fortress, that it was declared no longer tenable.

The rudeness of manners which Buonaparté displyed, and the violence of temper to which he was subject, were not at all softened or subdued previous to his quitting Brienne, his paroxisms of passion had sometimes amounted even to fury, and his anger was often so sudden and so uncontrolable that few of his comrades would venture to, hazard his displeasure. The following instance may be adduced of his extraordinary disposition.

The pupils of the Military School were permitted every year, on the day of St. Louis, (the 25th of August,) to give themselves up to pleasure, and the most noisy demonstrations of joy, almost without restraint. All punishment was suspended, all subordination ceased, and generally some accident occurred before the day concluded.

Such pupils as had attained fourteen years of age, an old custom of the college had allowed the privilege of purchasing a certain quantity of gunpowder, and, for a long time before the day arrived, these youths would assemble to prepare their fire-works. They were also permitted to discharge small cannon, muskets, and other fire arms, when and as often as they thought proper.

It was on St. Louis's day, in 1784, the last year of Buonaparté's remaining at the school, that he affected an entire indifference to the means which his comrades used for its celebration. They were all animation and hilarity, activity and spirit. He was all gloom and taciturnity, thought, and reflection. Retired, the whole day in his

garden, he not only did not participate in the general rejoicing, but pretended to continue his usual study and occupations, without being disturbed by the noise. His comrades were too much engaged in their amusements, to think of interrupting him, and would only have laughed at his strange behaviour, if an uncommon circumstance had not drawn upon him their general attention and resentment.

Towards nine o'clock in the evening, about twenty of the young people were assembled in that garden which adjoined to his, in which the proprietor had promised to entertain them with a show. It consisted of a pyramid, composed of various fire-works; a light was applied, and, unfortunately, a box, containing several pounds of gunpowder, had been forgotten to be removed. While the youths were admiring the effect of the fire-works, a spark entered the box, which instantly exploded; some legs and arms were broken, two or three faces miserably burned, and several paces of wall thrown down. The confusion was very great, and some of the lads, in their alarm, endeavoured to escape through the adjoining fence; they broke the pallisades, and Buonaparté was seen, stationed on the other side, armed with a pick-axe, and pushing those back into the fire who had burst the fence. The blows which he bestowed on the unhappy fugitives encreased the number of the wounded.

Shortly after this occurrence, the annual examination of the pupils by the Royal Inspector General, M. le Chevalier de Renault, took place. This officer found Buonaparté well versed in the art of fortification, and as he himself, owed his preferment and his fortune to his talents, and to the universal testimony of an honourable conduct, he knew well how to estimate the ingenuity and ability which are the result of inquiry and reflection, and he adjudged that Buonaparté's proficiency in military knowledge entitled him to be sent to *L'Ecole Royale Militaire*,

at Paris. His masters, however, represented to the Inspector, several occurrences unfavourable to his promotion, but without effect, and Buonaparté arrived at the Military College at Paris, on the 17th of October, 1784.

During the time Buonaparté continued at the military school of Brienne, we have observed that he seldom courted the acquaintance of his fellow students, nor was induced to leave his retreat either to afford or receive any of those little offices of kindness which are congenial to the youthful disposition. If he quitted his professional duties or studies for the company of his comrades, it was principally to check the exuberance of their playfulness, or to contemn the objects of their solicitude. His aversion to sociability was much encreased by his excessive indulgence in habits of suspicion, but if he feared treachery, he also avoided the possibility of being betrayed; he bestowed no confidence, nor accepted any favours. His temper was overbearing and irritable. He often endeavoured to control the actions of the other youths. Sometimes he excited their indignation by his sarcasms, but never did he fear their vengeance, or shrink from their endeavours to punish his ill-timed interference; he bore their attacks with firmness, and repelled them with equal violence, and with various success. No threats, either from his equals, or his superiors, nor any impending danger appeared to appal him, and he seemed as insensible to their applause as to their displeasure. Sternly independent, and confiding in himself alone, respecting no talents in another, which he could not employ to his own purposes, intriguing where he could not command, firm in his resolves, impatient of restraint, and disdainful of authority,—his character, when he left Brienne, was as remarkable for its turbulence, as for its inflexibility.

To complete his knowledge of the mathematics, was the principal object of Buonaparté at the Military College

of Paris. He laboured with unwearied diligence under the instructions of the celebrated Monge. The corps of Artillery and the corps of Engineers were, at that time, the only corps in France were merit was certain of promotion, and in which interest had no influence, and into one of these he determined to enter as soon as he had passed the requisite probation.

There were then about three hundred pupils at this college, and from them he selected Lauriston, a youth of a phlegmatic temper, and Dupont, a daring and fearless young man, for his intimates. He had made one friendship at Brienne, but which he never allowed to interrupt his professional avocations: this was with Faucalet de Bourienne, who was, like himself, a student of the mathematics, but of remarkably placid manners.

The leisure hours of Buonaparté at the college at Paris, were usually spent in one of the bastions of a small fort, called "Lieu Brune," which had been erected for the use of the pupils. It was there that he was often seen with the works of Vauban, Muller, Cohorn, and Folard, open before him, drawing plans for the attack and defence of this little fort, according to the rules of the military art.

Monge had so well qualified Buonaparté by his care and information, that, on his first examination, he passed with praise, and was allowed to enter the regiment of artillery *de la Fère*, in garrison at Auxone, as Lieutenant, in the month of July, 1785, and he immediately proceeded to join the regiment. His attention to the theory of his profession was as unremitting as ever; he devoted part of the night to the study of military details, and passed most of the day in contemplating and examining the fortifications of the garrison. In his occasional conversations with the officers of the regiment, he expressed opinions which were then considered as factious, both by those of the higher orders and those who were the partisans of

royalty. His ill humour was seldom concealed against any regulations that abridged the privileges or checked the licentiousness of the people, and whether those regulations affected the indefeasible right of an individual, or a public body, or curtailed the excesses which arose out of the inefficacy of the laws, or the laxity of their administration, he was equally adverse to the controlling power. His opposition of sentiment to all the measures of government was uniform and unchangeable by any endeavours to reason its inconsistency or its injustice.

The death of General Count Marbœuf, in the year 1786, deprived Buonaparté of his protection and influence; the advantages which he derived from that officer's pecuniary assistance, were no longer attainable, and his pay as a lieutenant was scarcely adequate to support the appearance his rank required. His dissatisfaction was increased by the narrowness of his income, and the numerous factions, which disordered all the ranks of society in France, induced him to await with complacence for some terrible convulsion of the state that should open a path to his military activity and preferment.

He was once walking in the Champ de Mars with some young officers, and the conversation, as usual, turned upon the state of affairs. Buonaparté declared against the King; the dispute ran high, and he defended his opinion singly, and with firmness, against them all. In a moment of enthusiasm, of which there have been numberless instances in all the wars of opinion, the young men seized him, and were about to throw him headlong into an adjoining stream, when a momentary reflection made them perceive the great inequality of their number, and they as instantaneously released him. He, by degrees, declined their company entirely, and, if he suppressed his sentiments, they were neither altered nor extinguished.

It was easy for a deeply reflective mind to imagine that a great change of affairs might take place, and as even

the energies of power as well as its abuses were, when he felt or witnessed either, the objects of his resentment, every circumstance which tended to counteract the operations of the Government, he rightly considered would hasten the event he wished for. The numerous venal factions, which divided alike the nobility, the clergy, and the people of Paris, the separation of their interests, and the inordinate selfishness of the individuals which composed those bodies; these distractions encreased his hopes, and emboldened his language.

THE END OF CHAP I.

CHAPTER II.

CAUSES AND PROGRESS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

Grandeur of Louis XIV....Depravity of his Court.... Confederacy of the Literati against the Despotism....Louis XVI....Marie Antoinette....Arrogance and Luxury of the Clergy and Nobility....Selfishness of the People....Disorder of public Affairs....Turgot's Administration....Dismissal.... Extravagance of the Royal Family....Wretchedness among the People....Their Independence prevented by the Clergy and Nobles....Joseph II....France assists America....M. Necker....Account of the Caisse d'Escompte....Its Failure.... Imbecility of the Monarchy....Credit of the Caisse d'Escompte attempted to be revived....Dismissal of M. Necker.... His Successors....M. Calonne....Mild Disposition of the King....Influence of the Queen....Treaty with America.... Commercial Treaty with England....Effect of the American Revolution on the French....Their sordid Notions of Liberty....Account of the Parliaments of France, and their Authority....General Cry for Reform....Parliament of Paris remonstrates with the King for contracting the Loan ....The King orders the Edict for it to be registered....Resolution passed by the Parliament on its Registry....The King orders the Resolution to be erased....Difficulty of raising the Supplies....Determination of M. Calonne to attempt a Reform of the State....Meeting of the Notables ....Equitable Plan of Taxation....Rejected by the Notables ....Factiousness of the Opposition....Resignation of M. Calonne.

THE great and mighty Revolution, in which fate had designed this extraordinary young man to perform a character, more complicated and more important than ever was assigned to a single individual before, took its

origin from the commencement of the reign of Louis XV. Like the collecting elements of a tremendous volcano, it silently continued to form its various combinations till its elective attractions were complete, when, by a convulsive effort, it suddenly burst open the bosom of secrecy, and, rolling forth in torrents of irresistible confusion, threw down the oldest empires, monarchies, and thrones, in its impetuous course, without any apparent object, but that of raising an obscure person to a rank little inferior to a deity upon earth.

During the reign of Louis XIV. France had been raised to the highest pitch of grandeur that she had ever seen, but it was a grandeur by which the throne was exalted and the people depressed. The glory of the King consisted in the pageantry of his court, rather than in the opulence of his people, and the revenue was expended to display the taste of the Monarch, instead of improving the condition of the nation.

At the death of Louis XIV. he left the kingdom to his son, an infant in the arms of his nurse, and the government devolved upon regents and women, whose frivolous minds led them constantly to resort to expedients just sufficient to extricate the nation from its temporary embarrassment, but they never adopted any grand and prospective measure that was calculated for its future benefit. When the King grew up, he seemed to out-run the contemptible manners of the court, by adding a degree of depravity to his own, which his exalted rank only served to render the more pernicious; its bad example may very properly be compared to an overwhelming flood, that carries everything before it. All orders of the French people were influenced by the degeneracy of their leaders, and every privileged class was so anxious for the extension of its rights, that, in pursuit of their several usurpations, they were all equally negligent of their duties. The Clergy and the Nobility endeavoured to outvie each other in the flattery they daily offered to the throne, and they

expected their adulation to be repaid by the homage that they exacted from the people. Rank and authority was supposed to be the only rule of moral fitness; accordingly, they established it as a maxim, that "the will of the King was the only law," and they taught the Monarch to assign no other reason for the most arbitrary act, than, "such is our pleasure."

During this period the authority of the church of Rome over the numerous Clergy of France, and the splendour of its brilliant court, constantly attracted a great number of exalted strangers to Paris; and amongst them the most learned and respectable of the literati of all stations. Such an assemblage of persons of incongruous qualities could not fail to hasten the crisis of a system already vitiated. Not only did they diffuse their criticisms and censures in France itself, but they formed a sort of universal cabal, by which they agreed to return to their respective countries, and issue lampoons and libels against the despotism of the French court, and thus it shortly became impossible for any Frenchman to cross the frontier of his country without becoming disgusted with his government.

In addition to the general ill-humour that arises out of the poverty and servility of a people under a despotic government, the people of France were constantly irritated by arbitrary arrests, under the authority of *Lettres de Cachet*, as well as by innumerable persecution on account of religious opinions, and by an odious tax, known in that country by the name of *Gabelle*. Upon all those topics the literary men of the time were in the habit of animadverting with great severity; and, though they might have discovered something nearly as objectionable in many other countries of Europe, a variety of accidents combined to direct their attention principally to France. The King and his courtiers adhered pertinaciously to their system, but there was a public opinion rising up against

them, which only granted a truce until it should be able to strengthen itself.

Such was the state of the kingdom, when, in the year 1774, Louis XVI. mounted the throne. He was a Prince to whom the people looked up with much expectation, as his conduct while Dauphin had been of the most exemplary kind. In the year 1770 he had married Marie Antoinette, daughter of Maria Teresa, and sister to Joseph the IId. Emperor of Germany, a princess of an excellent capacity, and great dignity of mind, and which alliance might have been eminently serviceable to the nation, but for the egotism and selfishness of the French, which constantly led them to be guilty of any meanness rather than to acknowledge a real obligation to any power but their own.

If the young King and Queen were not endowed with every virtue, they could not be accused of any vice, and had they been happily surrounded by a court, and a people as pure as themselves, their reign might have been truly happy for themselves, and prosperous for their country: but the insolent arrogance of the Nobility, and the supercilious bigotry of the Clergy, knew no bounds, and the Sovereign was constantly restrained from indulging the benevolence of his heart by those who would have been disgraced by the precedent.

At the commencement of this reign a general depravity of manners was so prevalent, that the most princely estates were insufficient to supply the luxury of their proprietors, and the Crown was obliged to connive at the rapacity of its ministers, who by the most barefaced venality prostituted the favours of their Sovereign, and rendered them contemptible in the eyes of the people. Patents of Nobility were sold to purchasers of any class, and the only qualification necessary to exalt an impudent adventurer above the heads of the people, was a small sum to a waiting-woman or a lacquey. The extravagance of the opulent made them as discontented as the poor; and the only sen-

timent in which the whole nation seemed to be united, was in the envy and hatred with which they looked upon each other.

The education of their Majesties had by no means taught them to husband the splendour with which their exalted rank enabled them to dazzle the eyes of their greedy attendants, and the innocent preeminence that they preserved just above the heads of the voluptuous Nobles excited the envy of all the vicious and the vain, who unceasingly repine at the enjoyments of others, when the consciousness of crime destroys the relish of their own.

This malignant spirit soon found an opportunity of displaying itself. The Queen, being a foreigner, the most bitter censures might be pointed against her without wounding the national vanity of the French people for their country, and therefore the heroes of the "Great Nation!" commenced an attack upon her conduct, and, by a series of uninterrupted calumnies, persuaded the vulgar and ignorant rabble, who knew no history beyond that of their own *Fauxbourgs*, that all the confusion of the state had been produced by this one woman!

Disorder prevailed in public as well as private affairs, and the revenues of the state were as inadequate to its wants as the incomes of individuals were unequal to their demands. Every one saw the absolute necessity for reform, but no one had virtue enough to begin it with himself; hence murmurs were heard instead of consultations being held, and the violence of contention instead of the councils of amity.

Circumstanced as the country was, the utmost vigour and promptitude were required of the Government. Unfortunately, the King possessed neither, and the system of patching and mending, adopted in the former reign, was still pursued.

Had the King possessed an inflexibility of mind, he might easily have secured the kingdom against the dangers which menaced it, for he saw the necessity of a more

œconomical arrangement, and on that account appointed Turgot, his Minister of Finance. Wisdom, integrity, and benevolence, marked the progress of this administration, which at once restored the public credit, and reduced the grievances of the people; but the profligacy and dissipation of the great raised such violent clamours against the prudent restraints of this minister, that the King was persuaded to dismiss him; and he was followed by a succession of those artificial great men, who imagine that all evils may be remedied by allaying the disorders of the moment.

It has been said, that the Queen, and others of the Royal Family, were particularly desirous of this change, as their expensive habits would not admit of any controul. It is, however, extremely uncandid to argue from such a circumstance that the state was ruined by their extravagance. The national difficulties had been accumulating for a long series of years, and had nearly reached their height at the death of the late King. A great share of prudence would have taught the Queen, and the rest of the family, that it would be proper to co-operate with his Majesty in his plans of reform; the amount of their crime, therefore, is, that they were actuated by a great degree of imprudence, not by any motives originating in moral turpitude.

A firm and enterprising Prince, in the circumstances of Louis the XVIth, would have benefited greatly by the general state of Europe. At the commencement of his reign, England, the only power from whom France could expect any cause of quarrel, was engaged in such numerous disputes with her Indian and American colonies that she could have nothing to apprehend from that quarter. The Kings of Prussia and Sweden, as well as the Empress Catherine, had made such various reforms in their several states, that the public were universally prepared for ameliorations and improvements, and the whole body of the literati had so far committed them-

selves upon the reforms necessary in France, that they could not, with any decency, have opposed the correction of such abuses as the French Monarch might have been determined to effect.

The principal causes of the general wretchednes that afflicted France were, the feudal system, and the privileges and exemptions claimed by the Nobles and the Clergy, who oppressed the people by the most severe exactions of services and tythes, whilst they could not themselves be forced to contribute towards the burdens of the state. The circumstances of the country required that those immunities, the usurpations of barbarous times, should have been abolished, and that the lands of both those classes should have become chargeable with an impost for the support of the public revenue.

Joseph the IId, brother-in-law of the King, was a prince of a most enlightened and benevolent mind, and who devoted every hour of his life to the service of his country, and exerted every effort to rescue his people from the oppression of the aristocratical and ecclesiastical bodies. The influence of those two orders was nearly as pernicious in Germany as it was in France, and the Emperor would happily have united his efforts with those of Louis to have effected the independence of their people and a general toleration in their respective states. M. Turgot had recommended those measures to the King, but the selfishness and bigotry of the Nobles and the Clergy deterred him from following this wise counsel. He feared the combination of two powerful orders, by whom nearly all the fixed property, of the realm was possessed, and who being sure of the co-operation of the Pope, would have gained a widely extended empire over the superstitious minds of those very subjects whose condition he was endeavouring to improve. Instead of removing the evil, he contented himself with postponing the danger, and the gilded hope of acquiring a small portion of national glo-

ry, at the expense of an ancient rival, served, for awhile, to support the sinking credit of the government.

An undefined animosity had existed for ages between England and France, which was always more powerful in the latter people against the English than in the people of England against the French. The American Colonies had determined to dissolve the band that connected them with the mother country, and to declare themselves independent of the crown of England. Every argument used to justify this violent separation was calculated to teach the discontented that they might throw off their allegiance with impunity, and a prudent monarch should have seen that he was most sedulously called upon to guard against their introduction into his empire; but the Court of France was so strongly tempted by the opportunity of humbling an old antagonist, that it seemed to overlook all consequences, and injudiciously lent its aid to achieve the triumphs of rebelion. One of the American leaders was admitted at Paris in the character of ambassador, and large armies and fleets were fitted out and sent to the continent of the new world, where they fought side by side with those who maintained that taxation was a fraud—that both the Nobles and Clergy were like locusts, that devoured the fruits of the earth, and that Kings themselves were nuisances, whose dominion they were fighting to get rid of.

The forces of America and France acted in conjuction for near six years, and when the French troops embarked for their own country, they returned to tell their comrades and neighbours at home, that the King's supremacy was a vulgar error, for that they had been assisting a people to overthrow the established law, and to reduce the burdens of taxation by governing themselves.

Whether or not America would have succeeded in securing her independence without the co-operation of France, has occasioned diversity of opinion; but as the

King had contributed largely to its actual acquirement, his share of *eclat* was very considerable. It is not in the French character to look beyond the glitter of the moment, and therefore neither the King nor the people saw the immediate consequences of their sublime speculations.

The advantages that the people of France could derive from the establishment of an empire across the Atlantic were very remote, but they soon learned that it had anticipated one hundred and ten millions, which were to be provided for; and though such a sum must have been a mere *bagatelle* to a country like France, an evil spirit seemed to prevail amongst all ranks, which inclined every one to withhold his share from the contribution.

M. Necker, who held the situation of Minister of Finance during the war, had, says a respectable writer, "attempted the brilliant paradox of defraying the expenses without burdening the people by new taxes." He had raised loans on the annual savings obtained by a reduction of the public expenditure, and he would have been entitled to the eternal gratitude of the country if that reduction had been real, but, in spite of all the plausible representation of the Minister, the revenue continued to be forestalled from year to year, and the ruin of the celebrated *Caisse d'Escompte* was the consequence of its reliance upon its paper transactions with the government.

As the affairs of France were greatly influenced by the failure of this pitiful bank, it will be necessary in this place to give some account of it. It was formed in 1776, about the time of M. Necker's appointment, by a company of private persons, and its capital was fixed at 500,000l. sterling. Its professed design was to discount bills at short dates, at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum, but this interest being evident not equivalent to the capital sunk by the proprietors, they were allowed to issue notes to the amount of their capital, and, as they were not suspected of any intrigue with the government, by which they could be rendered incapable of converting into specie at

any time all the notes they might so issue, their paper was in high credit.

As this discount office arose with the Minister, there is much reason to suppose, notwithstanding the veil of mystery in which the whole transaction is involved, that it was used by him as one of the shifts by which he contrived to postpone the catastrophe of the government, for it only continued its payments a few months after his dismissal. The stock was considerably above par, and the credit of the *Caisse d'Escompte* wholly unsuspected, when every Province was suddenly shocked by the news that it had stopped payment. Scarcely had the spirit of discontent, which this event occasioned, disseminated itself, when the bankruptcy of the government was also announced, by returning unpaid the bills that had been drawn upon it for paying the army in America.

Insignificant as the overthrow of this shop must appear to any person acquainted with the Banks of England or Amsterdam, its effects were of the most astonishing kind in France. The number of persons immediately injured by the event was small, compared with the population, but they were widely scattered over the country, and their well-founded complaints produced sympathies in the rest of the people. The nature of the event occasioned discussion, and the nature of the discussion irritated other complaints, already acknowledged throughout the kingdom, which gave a licence to the most contemptible *cabaret* to sit in judgment upon the measures of government.

Affairs were in this state at the end of 1783, and the Monarchy continued for nine years before it was overturned, but from that period it was in all the agonies of dissolution; its repose was at intervals, which were sometimes longer, sometimes shorter; its efforts were struggles for existence.

A new expedient was attempted to raise the credit to the *Caisse d'Escompte*. The King was prevailed on to

extend his protection to the company, and four successive edicts were passed, by which the banks in Paris were ordered to receive its notes as currency. A lottery was also established, with a stock of one million sterling, the tickets of which were made purchasable in the like notes, and an arrangement was made for the payment of the bills drawn in America. By such means a temporary confidence was excited; but an enquiry was afloat of too serious a nature, to be satisfied by mere expedients. An attentive observer saw all the seeds of commotion scattering themselves abroad, through every family, and into every bosom, and the only subject left for speculation was, the manner in which it would commence.

It would, perhaps, be hazarding an opinion to say, that all revolutions are founded in the unaccommodating spirit, or the self-will of either the government or the governed, but certainly something of the sort has been seen in the conduct of the King and the people of France towards each other. Monarchs are usually desirous of grasping unlimited power, and subjects as usually averse to contribute toward the burdens of the state. No better motive can be assigned to the King for dismissing M. Necker, nor to the people for determining not to be satisfied with any other Minister. Notwithstanding the fatality of Necker's former attempt he was a man of very great talents, and capable of being made altogether such a Minister as the circumstances required. The folly of the nation in preferring a Minister, merely because he pretended to rule without taxes, might have been cured even by him, and perhaps they would have submitted to some slight burdens the more readily, if imposed by his hand, from a conviction that he would not have laid them on unnecessarily.

In defiance of the childish attachment of the people to M. Necker, the King appointed M. de Fleury in his situation, and then M. d'Ormesson. M. Calonne, who, be-

side an acknowledged ability, possessed the most refined and polished manners, followed afterwards. Nothing can, however, satisfy a people who are determined only to be satisfied in a certain way, and the King should have made his election, either to have given them all they wished, or to have temporized no longer.

There is no reason to doubt, but the King was disposed to relax the severities of the government, and to improve the condition of the people, for he abolished the torture, which had been practised till his time in his dominions, and he also commuted the punishment of death, which had been inflicted for certain offences in the army, for one less cruel, but more exemplary—labour in the gallies. His mild and flexible disposition would probably have induced him to have conceded every point that justice and freedom could have required of him; had he happened to have been either supported or opposed by wise and temperate men. The Queen, and the rest of his family, it is said, urged him to adhere to the principles of rule that he had received from his ancestors, and he acted mildly, or obstinately, as he acted according to his own wish, or that of others—be it so—his misfortunes entitle him to pity; yet there can be no doubt but he might have saved himself if he had possessed firmness enough to have decided for either despotism or liberty.

To secure the good will of the people, a treaty was entered into with America, by which it was stipulated that the States should reimburse the sums that France had expended on their account during the war, and the whole amount (18 millions of livres) was to be paid by annual instalment, in twelve years. A treaty, offensive and defensive, was entered into with Holland, and a commercial treaty was entered into with England. Every thing failed of its object. The most sour and ill-natured constructions were put upon every attempt to conciliate, and which, instead of increasing satisfaction, served only to aggravate the general discontent.

Among the measures that created the greatest murmurs, were the English commercial treaty, and the establishment of a company, with an exclusive trade, to the East-Indies. By the treaty, the French politicians saw nothing but the ruin of their own manufactures, for they were ignorant enough to suppose, that we could not possibly live without the wines, oils, cambrics, &c. that they disposed of in the English market, and therefore the Court was censured as much for the conclusion of this treaty as it was for the establishment of the East-India Company, although that monopoly was really oppressive to a great number of merchants, who were obliged to discontinue a very lucrative trade, and also liable to have their warehouses searched by the Company's officers, upon the pretence of non-submission.

Amidst the general ferment the principles of the American Revolution were easily to be discovered, the generous cry of Liberty resounded every where, but the ideas conveyed by it were as different as the numerous situations of the persons by whom it was echoed. France contained a vast number of enlightened statesmen, yet an immense mass of the population was as ignorant as superstition and poverty could make them. Instead, therefore, of craving a sublime system, that should ameliorate the condition of *all* without operating oppressively upon any, the generality of Frenchmen understood nothing more by liberty than the removal of some particular burden, by which each was more immediately affected. Every one, however, complained of some sort of grievance, and though the gratification of one, would have been an affliction to another; yet, as neither precisely knew his neighbour's definition of the term Liberty, it became a common watch-word for them all.

In this season of sordid infatuation the King was obliged to contract for a trifling loan, the demands for which had been of the most honorable and legitimate kind. The explanation of the Minister was, that several disputes had

arisen in some of the neighbouring states, in consequence of which, large armies had assembled on the French frontier, and it had been thought necessary to take all the precautions that such an occasion required; a large sum had also been expended upon the fortification of Cherbourg.

No candid mind can consider this an improper expenditure of the public treasure, and the most clamorous of the Patriots would have censured the King most bitterly had he not have taken those precautions: yet; the Parliament of Paris remonstrated with the King on this occasion, and gave a legal form to those murmurs which had hitherto evaporated in unmeaning speculation.

The Parliaments of France were not exactly like those of England, although they did not differ so much as has been imagined. They were not chosen by the people as their legislative representatives, but their sanction was nevertheless necessary to give authority to the laws, and especially those for raising money. In England, the government of France was always considered a despotism, yet the Ministry, in the King's name, was obliged to go to Parliament for the supplies, and the people were not obliged to submit to any ordinance that the Parliaments resisted.

Those Parliaments consisted mostly of lawyers, and in general were obsequious enough to the King's will, but several instances had happened in which they had sacrificed their politeness to their patriotism, and particularly at the conclusion of the late reign, when the Parliament of Paris determined to resist some intolerant measures of the Catholic clergy, and incurred the displeasure of Louis the XVth, in consequence. So firmly was this body determined to maintain its prerogatives, that they also refused to register the edicts which the King issued to raise new taxes, and were joined in the same determination by the Parliaments of Britany, Grenoble, and others, all of whom were sent into exile, and continued there till

they were recalled by Louis XVI. at his ascension to the throne.

Having displayed so much firmness, at a time when the light of philosophy had scarcely risen above the political horizon, a greater degree of submission was not to be expected from them at a time when that ferment had extended itself far enough to question the propriety of every existing establishment. Reform was now called for by every body, but nobody could see exactly how it ought to be begun; and in their apprehension, that they should miss their object, a disposition to suspect and quibble arose amongst all ranks. This rendered the attainment of their object more difficult, by inviting a contentious struggle of the passions to attend at a deliberation which ought only to have been entered upon by the most cool and temperate reasoner.

A jealousy of this kind alone could have induced the Parliament of Paris to have remonstrated with the King for contracting the loan above alluded to. The amount was only three millions three hundred and thirty thousand pounds, and it was not pretended that any part of it had been improperly appropriated. When the deputation waited on the King to announce the querulous complaint, he assumed a degree of *hauteur* not common in his manner, assuring the assembly that he would be obeyed, and ordered them to register his edict without further delay. The Parliament complied, but they passed a resolution, "that public œconomy was the only genuine sourse of abundant revenue, the only means of providing for the necessities of the State, and restoring the credit which borrowing had reduced to the brink of ruin."

The King ought to have been satisfied with the submission that granted him all he asked, and to have suffered the spirit of the Parliament to have dissipated itself, in a written bravado; but, on the contrary, he was imprudent enough to send for the deputation, and commanded the resolution to be erased from their records, and as a

strong mark of his displeasure, dismissed one of their officers, who had been most active in promoting the resolution. At the same time he observed, "that though it was his pleasure that the Parliament should communicate by its respectful representations whatever might concern the good of the public, yet he never would allow them so far to abuse his clemency, as to erect themselves into the censors of his government."

The violence of this doctrine taught the Patriots that they must not hazard any further resistance until they could strengthen themselves, and the Minister was so well aware of the incorrigible refractoriness of their disposition that he made no attempt at conciliation. In this situation, to impose new taxes was impracticable; to continue borrowing would hasten destruction; to rely upon œconomical reforms, would be found wholly inadequate, and he declared that it would be impossible to place the finances on a solid basis but by a general reform of all that was vicious in the state. It was a dilemma of no common kind, and the instructions of history were necessary to guide him through the difficulty.

The ancient and legitimate assembly of the nation was called the States-General, but they had not met since the time of Louis the XIIIth, and the supercilious arrogance of the court would not be very likely to assent to a convocation that could not fail to demand some concessions in favour of the people.

Under those circumstances M. Calonne recommended the convention of another assembly, which had occasionally been substituted for the States-General. This was distinguished by the title of The Notables, because they consisted of persons of the greatest notoriety, who were selected by the King, and summoned to attend him as a sort of extra Council. Writs were issued for calling this assembly, and they were to meet on the 29th of January 1787, to the number of one hundred and forty. When they arrived at Paris, the Minister was not prepared to

lay his plans before them, and the meeting did not take place till the 22d of February. Amongst their number were seven Princes of the blood, with the principal nobility, ecclesiastics, military men, and lawyers.

M. Calonne explained the state of the kingdom to the assembly, and accounted for the deficiency of the revenue to the time of his entering upon the administration, which he proposed to provide for by a territorial impost, in the nature of the landtax in England, and various alterations in the mode of managing the internal taxation already established.

The spirit of the measures that he recommended were, that no rank or order of men were to be exempted, and to institute an enquiry into the possession of the Clergy, in order that they might be assessed with an equitable proportion of the public burdens. Such a proposition, to such an assembly, was like asking robbers for justice, and cupidity for a generous spirit. Not only did the Notables refuse to sanction these taxes, but they denied the necessity of any increase of the revenue whatever. M. de Brienne, Archbishop of Thoulouse, was foremost in opposing these measures, and he was very warmly seconded by M. de Mirabeau, who also received considerable aid from the talents and influence of M. de la Fayette.

An opposition so unprincipled may be characterized as a very dexterous mode of tormenting a Minister, but there are few people who will consider it, even in appearance, a struggle for liberty. It was an opposition of a most factious and sordid kind, and no stronger proof of the barbarous stupidity of the French can be necessary, than that they could confound it with the cause of freedom. Mirabeau, La Fayette, and the Archbishop, were called upon to adopt a plan of equal taxation, the intention of which was to relieve the people from oppression; in opposing this measure they avowed themselves the champions of despotism, and yet they contrived to per-

suade their infuriated countrymen that they were the only true heroes of the Rights of Man!

The design of the Minister to equalize the public burdens, and, by rendering the taxes general, causing the load to bear easier upon the lower and most useful classes of the people, was undoubtedly just and patriotic; but it united the Nobility, Clergy and Magistracy against him, and the event was such as might be expected: the intrigues of these three bodies raised so numerous and so loud an opposition to him, that, finding it impossible to stem the torrent, he not only resigned, but retired to England, from the storms of persecution.

THE END OF CHAP. II.

CHAPTER III.

CAUSES AND PROGRSES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION CONTINUED.

The Attention of the Parties in France directed to Events in England, Holland, Belgium, and Germany.... Opposition to the Government....Notables....Administration of the Archbishop of Thoulouse....Edicts registered in a Bed of Justice....The Parliament declares them void.... Representatives exiled....Murmurs of the People....The Parliament recalled....Embarrassment of the Finances.... The King requires the Registry of Two Edicts....The Parliament debate for Nine Hours in his Presence....He commands their Registry....The Duke of Orleans opposes it.... Hostility of the Parliament's....Banishment of the Duke of Orleans....Arrest of the Abbé Sabatierre and M. Freteau ....The Parliament remonstrate with the King, but register One of the Edicts....The Two Members released....Intrigues of the Factions....The Duke of Orleans recalled....The Parliament declare against Lettres de Cachet....M. de Espremenil and M. Monsambert seized in the Parliament.... Insincerity of both Parties....Cour Pléniere....The Parliament refuse to register the Edict for it....Their Chamber surrounded by Troops, and, at length, shut up....Deputations against the Cour Pléniere from Grenoble, Thoulouse, &c. and the Deputies sent to the Bastille....Means taken to excite the People to revolt.

VIOLENT as the conflicts of opinion were in France at this period, the attention of the parties were, in a certain degree, diverted from their own affairs, by the events that were passing in other countries.

The people of England had resisted an obnoxious impost upon retail shopkeepers, which the Minister had seemingly resolved to maintain in the face of all opposi-

tion. The tax seemed indirectly to sanction the unjust principle of exemption, and it was censured with so much severity that it was abandoned, after a struggle of about two years.

In Holland a contention of another kind agitated the public mind. The government was nominally vested in the Prince of Orange, as Stadtholder, or head of the States, but was really lodged in the power of the States General, or Congress, consisting of representatives from the Seven Provinces. All affairs of general government were directed by this body, while those of internal administration were entirely under the direction of the Burgomasters. The persons of both those classes had, by a frequent return to power, and by an artful combination, transformed themselves into an hereditary aristocracy, for they could manage to prevent the representation going out of their own families, and nothing was wanting to convert them into an hereditary government but the removal of the Stadtholder. To this Minister (for he was nothing else) they allowed just power enough to leave him open to blame, in case of misfortune, but not sufficient to entitle him to praise in case of success. The leading finesse by which they were to effect their purpose was, to enlarge upon every accident, as arising out of the maladministration of the Stadtholder, and by this chicanery to persuade the people to deposit their liberties in their hands. Wealth, power, and insolence, were the adorable Trinity of these cowardly and contemptible wretches; and because England had refused to gratify their cupidity by sanctioning the illegal trade that they carried on with her enemies during the American war, under the colour of neutrality; they necessarily became the enemies of England, and revenge as naturally threw them into the arms of France.

It was then that the two parties were formed in Holland, which have since been distinguished as the French and English parties. A long and favourite object of the

French court had been to establish a supreme and permanent controul in the affairs of Holland, and the Patriots, as those fortune hunters, (*geluk-zoekers* in Holland) styled themselves, might, in their present infuriated state of mind, be bought at a moderate price. Louis had, therefore, encouraged their factious opposition, and the Stadtholder, as a measure of necssity, allied himself to the English.

It its almost unnecessary to say, that by the spirited conduct of the Princess of Orange, and a small army dispatched by her brother the King of Prussia, these demagogues were sent back to their shops and their barns. They had determined to obtain their object by force of arms, and ordered their general, the Rhingrave of Salm, to defend the country against the Prussians and English; but, when he told them that it would require money, it appeared that all their patriotism had been left at home, for they expected their supplies to be sent by the King of France; and, accordingly, when the Prussians arrived at Utrecht, there were neither cannon, ammunition, provisions, soldiers, nor even workmen, to repare the fortification! As to the mighty men themselves, the Rhingrave says, that, instead of being at ALPHEN, the point at which they were all to rally, for the purpose of being ready when called for, every one imagined, or at least assigned a plausible reason to prove, that his presence was indispensably necessary at his own house!

How sturdily the attack upon the Stadtholder might have been maintained, if the coffers of France had been richly supplied, it is impossible to judge, but as the King was incapable of paying the expenses the Dutch patriots were contented to grumble in silence; and crowds of French officers, who had been sent into Holland, to be ready as occasion might be offered for their services, returned home, laden with the spirit of faction, to improve the stock of their countrymen.

Whilst these operations were going on a scene of ano-

ther kind was preparing in Belgium. The Emperor Joseph, among the measures he adopted for the benefit of his people, disclaimed all submission to the authority of the Pope in secular concerns, at the same time suppressing many monasteries, and regulating others. The Clergy considered this step as a fatal blow to all their impositions, and prevailed upon the Pope to undertake a journey to Vienna, for the purpose of altering the Emperor's designs; but, though he was courteously received, and pompously entertained, Joseph adhered to his edict, and declared his determination to divert the attention of his people from the follies of superstition to the pursuits of commerce and agriculture.

The people of Belgium were then, as they still continue to be, the most stupid bigots upon the continent, and, as that was the strong hold of the priesthood, the good Emperor began his reforms there first. He declared Ostend a free port, and raised it to great importance in a short time. The Scheldt he could not navigate, because it had been blockaded by the treaty of Westphalia, and several powers threatened him with war if he attempted to use his own river contrary to their iniquitous pretensions! It was, however, his intention to have opened a canal from Antwerp, through Bruges and Ostend, to the sea, spacious enough for the navigation of large ships; but, before his plan was arranged, the clergy so far perverted the minds of their besotted followers, that they rallied around them in rebellion against that Monarch, who was hourly exposing himself to the assassination and intrigues of the court and clergy of Rome for the sake of his people!

The blind and bigoted Belgians, headed by their infatuated priests, armed themselves in defence of the antiquated corruptions, which had exhausted all their resources, and spread desolation and misery over their whole country. Thus they reject all the liberal efforts of their benefactor, and disturbed his government, by their

ungrateful treasons, till the priests had contrived to poison him, and secured the wages of their treachery by the vilest of crimes.

In all these struggles, the government of France was wholly unconcerned, except by that intermeddling spirit which has always induced it to speculate upon the disorders in other nations; yet these contentions produced a considerable effect upon the people at large, they were directed to very different objects, but opposition to government was to be traced in them all; and the best intentioned of the French patriots were hardly sufficiently enlightened to avoid what has been emphatically called,* "the very extremity of faction, and the last degree of political wickedness." Opposition to government was now preparing, like a new fashion, and if the King had voluntarily offered them every thing that they wanted they would have quarrelled with him for disappointing their projects; hence, every thing that tended to countenance opposition served to encourage and hasten their attacks upon him.

The assembly of the Notables afforded the parties an opportunity of trying their strength, and the result was unfavourable to the Court. Beside the discussions that took place upon the revenue, the State Prisons and *Lettres de Cachet* were made subjects of animadversion. They declared themselves incapable of granting any new taxes whatever, and recommended the assembling of the States General, as the only real representatives of the nation.

The Archbishop of Thoulouse had made himself very popular by his resistance of M. Calonne's plans, and the King, in the hope of being instructed in the most satisfactory measures, appointed this prelate to the ministry; but, instead of adopting a new system, after the Notables were dismissed, he persued nearly the same steps as those he had complained of, and the States General were very loudly called for by the whole nation.

A strong aversion to convening an assembly of repre-

* By Mr Horne Tooke.

sentatives, seems to have determined the King to stretch his authority to its utmost, in order to convert the Parliaments into the most abject tools of submission. Edicts were presented to them, as if the subject had undergone no discussion, and they were required to grant the new taxes. The Parliament refused in the most positive terms; and Louis, as the last resource of his absolute authority, held *a Bed of Justice*, and compelled them to enrol the impost.

These Beds of Justice were seldom resorted to in the most despotic times, and in this case it was like the last solemn appeal to the King's authority. He was seated on his throne in the Parliament, and the enrolment took place by his order, as the supreme head of the refractory assembly.

The Parliament, though then defeated, was not subdued, and, on the following day, the Members entered a formal protest against the proceedings, declaring, "That the edicts were enrolled, contrary to their resolutions, by the King's express command, that they neither ought to have, nor should have, any force, and that the first person who should presume to carry them into execution, should be adjudged a traitor, and condemned to the gallies." This spirited declaration left the King no other alternative than either proceeding to extremities in support of his authority, or relinquishing it for ever.

Since the commencement of the general discontent the capital had been filled with considerable bodies of troops, and, about a week after the Parliament had entered the protest, an officer of the guards was sent, at break of day, with a party of soldiers, to the house of each Member, to signify to him the King's command, that he should immediately proceed to Troyes, a city of Champagne, about seventy miles from Paris, without speaking or writing to any person out of his own house before his departure. These orders were all observed at the same instant, and, before the citizens of Paris were

acquainted with the transaction, their representatives were already on the road to the place of their banishment.

The declarations which the Parliament had made in favour of the national council, or States-General, was considered by the people as highly honourable; the dissolution of their own body being a natural consequence to be expected from such a convention. The confidence of the nation, therefore, rose in proportion to this instance of disinterestedness, and murmurs were openly expressed in the streets of the capital, which were greatly increased by the interruption that all public business suffered by the exile of the Parliament. The temper of the people was greatly irritated against the Royal Family, in consequence of some imprudent remarks, that one of the King's brothers had made, when the Parliament assigned its reason for not registering the edict: "If I were sovereign," said he, "the Members should be forced to comply," "If you were Sovereign," said the President, "I should repeat what I have now asserted—My heart is the people's, my understanding is my own, and my head is the King's."

Banishment produced no other effect upon the Parliament than to confirm the Members in their resolution; but several of the other Parliaments evinced a degree of spirit that confounded the Court, and paralysed all its measures. The Parliament of Grenoble immediately assailed the most powerful engine the government possessed for enforcing obedience to its mandates, by solemnly declaring it to be a capital crime for any person to attempt to execute *Lettres de cachet* within its jurisdiction. The only step that was then necessary to commence a civil war in the country was, to pass a decree of outlawry against those who had been instrumental in the exile of the Parliament of Paris. The King was unwilling to provoke such a measure, and he therefore recalled the Parliament.

Several œconomical regulations had taken place in the

royal household, but the public expenditure still far exceeded the revenue, and it was evidently impossible for the government to proceed without some very extraordinary resources being opened for its supply. The state was reduced to extreme distress, and every man's heart palpitated with hope and fear, when the King took the novel and extraordinary resolution to attend the Parliament himself, and to demand their approbation of an edict for a new loan, and another for the re-establishment of the Protestants in all their ancient rights.

It was about the middle of November 1787, in a full meeting of the Parliament, that the King entered the assembly, attended by all the Princes, and a great number of the Peers of France, and he addressed them in a speech of uncommon length, filled with professions of regard for the people, but, at the same time, strongly expressive of the obedience he expected to his command for registering the edicts.

Louis probably thought that the dread of the banishment, from which the Members had been so lately recalled, would have ensured the acquiescence of the assembly; but no sooner had the Members received permission to deliver their sentiments, than he was convinced that their spirits were wholy unsubdued. An animated debate took place, which was continued for nine hours, when the King, wearied by perpetual opposition, and chagrined at the freedoms used in the debates, suddenly rose, and commanded the edict to be registered without further delay. This measure was, most unexpectedly, opposed by the Duke of Orleans, who, considering it as an infringement of the rights of Parliament, protested against the whole proceedings of the day, as being thereby null and void. Though the King could not conceal his astonishment and displeasure at this bold and decisive step, he contented himself with repeating his orders, and, immediately afterwards, quitting the assembly, departed for Versailles. Immediately on the departure of his Majesty,

the Parliament confirmed the protest of the Duke of Orleans, and declared, that as their deliberations had been interrupted, they considered the whole business of the day as of no effect.

The agitation of the King's mind was excessive; he could not suffer such an attack upon his power with impunity, although he might regret the impetuosity which had induced him to provoke it. Accordingly, a letter was, on the next day, delivered to the Duke of Orleans, commanding him to retire to one of his country seats, and to receive no company there except his own family. At the same time the Abbé Sabbatiere and M. Freteau, both members of the Parliament, who had distinguished themselves in the debate, were seized, under the authority of *Lettres de Cachet*, and sent to distant prisons.

These despotic measures did not fail to excite the indignation of the public. On the following day the Parliament waited on the King, and expressed their astonishment and concern that a prince of the blood had been exiled, and two of their members imprisoned, for having declared in his presence what their duty and consciences dictated, and at a time when his Majesty had declared that he came to take the sense of the assembly by a plurality of voices. The answer of the King was reserved, forbidding, and unsatisfactory, and served to increase the resentment of the Parliament; yet the Members seem to have acted with more moderation upon this than upon any other occasion, for they assembled and registered the edict for the loan, which had been the cause of the unfortunate dissension.

Though the disputes between the King and the Parliaments assumed such a serious air, they were not much more important than the trifling quarrels that hourly happen among children, and would hardly have been productive of more mischievous consequences, but for the machinations of certain meddling intriguers, who,

from the malignancy of their hearts, were constantly endeavouring to raise the flames of discord. The King was so soothed with the unexpected generosity of the Parliament that he immediately ordered the two Members to be released from prison, and to be confined to their own country seats. The intriguers were now afraid that a reconciliation might take place, and therefore began to calumniate the Parliament, as if they had deserted the principles they had avowed, and they were urged to declare their adherence to the resolutions that they had formerly expressed. In a petition, therefore, conceived with freedom, and couched in the most animated language, they boldly reprobated the late acts of arbitrary violence, and demanded the entire liberation of the persons against whom they had been exerted. Louis, who, as often as he was left to pursue his own inclination, adopted conciliatory measures, did not long hesitate. In the beginning of the year 1788 he called the Duke of Orleans to court, who soon after obtained leave to retire to England, and he permitted the two exiled Members to return to the capital.

The Parliament, however, had not confined their deliberations to the breach of their privileges: they considered the despotic use made of the *Lettres de Cachet* as wholly incompatible with the freedom of debates: they followed the example of their compatriots of Grenoble, in declaring against the legality of these instruments, and Louis was once again instigated to measures of severity. Messrs. d'Espremenil and Monsambert, whose bold and pointed harangues had pressed most closely on the royal dignity, were doomed to experience its immediate resentment. A body of armed troops surrounded the hotel in which the Parliament were convened, while Colonel Degout entered the assembly, secured the persons of the obnoxious members, and conducted them to different prisons.

This new exertion of arbitrary power occasioned a

remonstrance from the Parliament, which, in boldness, far exceeded all the representations of that assembly. They declared that they were now more strongly confirmed by every proceeding, of the entire innovation which was aimed at the Constitution. "But Sire," added they, "the French nation will never adopt the despotic measures to which you are advised, and whose effect alarm the most faithful of your magistrates:—We shall not repeat all the unfortunate circumstances that afflict us; we shall only represent to you, with respectful firmness, that the fundamental laws of the kingdom *must not* be trampled upon, and that *your authority can only be esteemed so long as it is tempered with justice.*"

There is much reason to doubt whether the proceedings of either party were tempered with the smallest sincerity after this moment. It is the greatest folly to hope for respect, or even justice, from those who no longer preserve the forms of decency, and neither the King nor the Parliament seemed now to regard appearances in their conduct to each other, any further than might be necessary to conceal their real designs.

The Parliament clamoured loudly for the States-General to be assembled, but it is acknowledged by Mr. Thomas Paine, who was an active manager in all the underplots of the day, that the real design was to form a republican assembly, who should mix with the Nobles and the Clergy, for the mere purpose of robbing them of their privileges, without compensation. This abominable deceit and treachery was adopted by the Patriots, to counteract, as they say, the duplicity of the Court, which occasionally held out conciliatory measures, merely to lull the nation into a false security, while it was preparing means to destroy every remnant of liberty. It was extremely difficult to judge truly at the time and upon the spot, but it is certain, that the Court had no more confidence in the honour of the Patriots, than the Patriots had in the professions of the Court: every effort was exerted

to avoid assembling the States General, as if the King had known the ultimate object of the Patriots, but could not prove it by satisfactory evidence.

If the ministry were not among the best of men, they were certainly not the most contemptible:—they knew how to appreciate the precise condition of the kingdom, and they contrived, as a kind of *dernier resort*, a council, that was the most suitable to the then situation of the country, that could have been devised. It was founded upon better principles, and was to administer a new and much better system of jurisprudence than the kindom had hitherto been governed by, and at the same time that it would have avoided the mischiefs of the States General. M. Lamoignon, keeper of the seals, was the author of this arrangement, which was to be called the *Cour Pleniere*, and was to be composed of princes, peers, magistrates, and military men; and to include some of the best characters of the nation.

Such was the general mixture of characters, that the influence of the crown must have suffered a considerable reduction by the appointment of this council, and have diminished gradually, as the people became sufficiently enlightened to know the use of liberty; but the mad fury, that had gotten loose among all orders, blinded them to their real interest, and they saw nothing but enemies in their dearest friends. The Dukes de la Rochefoucault, Luxembourg, De Noailles, and many others, disdainfully refused to accept the nomination, and strenuously opposed the whole plan.

The Parliament of Paris received the edict for establishing this new court with an aversion still more expressive than the Notables; they protested against the appointment, and declared their resolution never to assist at any deliberation in such an assembly. The contest between the Parliament and the Court, was now so violent, that, while the former was sitting, a regiment of soldiers was ordered to surround the house. The members

sent out for beds and provisions with apparent indifference, and it was thought necessary to proceed to greater severities to bring them to submission. An officer was ordered to seize some of the most spirited, and shut them up in the different prisons, which order was executed; but a solemn protest being entered against these proceedings, his Majesty was advised to shut up the place of their deliberations, and to suspend all the Parliaments throughout the kingdom.

About the same time deputations arrived from the Parliaments of Grenoble, Thoulouse, &c. with remonstrances against the *Cour Pleniere*; these were sent to the Bastile without ceremony, which occasioned partial insurrections in several parts of the country, and convinced the Court that an implicit reliance was not to be placed on the troops: numbers of people were killed in these skirmishes, but, in general, they maintained their ground, and the Parliaments expressed their indignation and resentment in the most spirited language. The necessity of assembling the States General was urged from all parts of the kingdom; and Louis now saw that no other means were left him of saving the country from the calamities of a civil war. In the meantime the popular party lost no time in strengthening itself: inflammatory writings were distributed among the people, and placards were posted upon the gates and public buildings, charging the people with cowardice and servility for submitting to the arbitrary measures of the Government. The vilest censures, and the most copious torrents of personal abuse, were poured upon the royal family, especially upon the Queen, who was accused of stimulating every violent proceeding; whilst enigmatical sentences, some written and others printed, exciting the people to revolt, were liberally distributed and eagerly read.

THE END OF CHAP. III.

CHAPTER IV.

CAUSES AND PROGRESS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION CONTINUED.

Recal of M. Necker....Formation of the Clubs....Selfishness of the Notables....Dreadful Storm destroys all Vegetation....Benevolence of the King, &c.....Tumults of the People....Meeting of the States General....The Commons refuse to continue a separate Body....The National Assembly....Haughtiness of the Clergy and Nobility....The National Assembly expelled from their Chamber and meet in a Tennis-court....Proceedings in the Clubs....The last royal Session....The King's imbecile Conduct...Criminal Negligence of the National Assembly....Insincerity of both Parties, and their mutual Submission to the Mob....Marquis Valadi....Outrages of the Mob....The Complacence of the Assembly....Approach of the Troops towards Paris....Messages to the King....His evasive Answers.

AT this time the conflicts assumed a new appearance every day, and a week in France produced as many events as an age elsewhere. The King determined to gratify the wish of the nation by summoning the States General: a change of ministry took place, by which the favourite, M. Necker, was recalled to office; and yet the lower orders of the people, who had been always devoted to their Sovereign, not only treated these conciliatory measures with indifference, but became seriously insolent to the authority and person of their King.

Out of the convulsions of the moment a new power insensibly arose at this time, the natural tendency of which was to produce a paramount influence in the state. The necessity of acting in unison, had induced some of the Members of the Parliament to meet occasionally, to concert the measures that would be proper to pursue on

certain events arising, and their friends who had been in America, and who were supposed to be better informed upon those subjects, as also a few of the Notables, were occasionally visitors at these meetings. As the struggle advanced the number of persons ready to give advice in this manner, greatly increased, and clubs became established, from whence the factious in all parts of the kingdom could learn what were the points to which their efforts could be most advantageously directed. Such associations possess a power of overturning any government at any time, provided they indiscriminately admit all ranks; for they gradually become invested with all the power that government can have occasion for, and silently direct the views of all the members to the same object.

An arret was istued by the King in August, 1788, for assembling the States General, in the spring of the following year, and the interval was employed by the clubs in ripening the plans and preparing them for execution.

By every thinking person the assembling of the States General was regarded as the most important æra in the history of France; it was therefore incumbent upon all that were concerned to attend strictly even to the forms of the Meeting, for the slightest deviation in forms might be productive of the most material results. The first question related to the number of which it should consist, and this M. Necker was too politic to determine of himself; he therefore once more summoned the Notables, and applied to them for advice, but this mercenary body, who neither cared for the King, nor the people, supposing they could preserve their own privileges, only increased the difficulties by a frivolous adherence to precedents that were no longer applicable to the circumstance. The subject was at last settled by declaring that the number should be twelve hundred, and that the Commons, or *tiers etat*, as they were called, should be equal to the other two estates together. This arrangement gave equal satisfaction to the King and the people, but it was far from agree-

able to the sordid disposition of the aristocracy, or the clergy. Their pride and insolence were roused to the highest, to learn that *one hundred thousand Nobles*, and *eighty thousand Priests*, were not considered of more consequence than *twenty-five millions of Plebeians:* and if the privileged orders thought themselves already degraded, the clubs were busily preparing to increase their mortification.

The cause of Liberty would have been little benefited by the third estate sending a large number of Members, if the measures passed by the Commons were liable to be rejected by the Clergy, or the Peers, and therefore the Patriots had taken care to urge the necessity of the three estates meeting in one body. Care was taken to impress this principle upon the electors, and the people were taught to regard it as a fundamental principle, that was to be maintained at any sacrifice.

During the period of the elections, the spirit of discontent and tumult which prevailed all over France, was greatly augmented by a scantiness of the necessaries of life, little short of a famine, which was occasioned by a violent storm, and, like the great revolution that was then preparing, this event was the most tremendous of the kind that had ever happened in Europe.

On the morning of Sunday the 13th of July 1788, most of the extensive kingdom of France was involved in solemn darkness, which was succeeded by a dreadful commixture of hail, rain, thunder, lightening and wind, uniting their fury to destroy every appearance of corn, vintage, and vegetation. Dismay and horror diffused themselves throughout the land, as if the consummation of all things was fast approaching; and the people on their way to church, were so beaten by the tempest, that they fell prostrate on the earth—now converted into a quagmire, by the concussion of the elements. The damages occasioned by the hurricane, were supposed to amount to

four millions sterling, and the misery it inflicted upon the people was of the most distressing kind.

To alleviate the distresses of the unhappy sufferers, the King ordered the profits of a lottery, amounting to twelve hundred thousand livers, to be divided amongst them, and forgave them all the taxes for the space of a year, from the time of their calamity. The benevolence of the Duke of Orleans upon the occasion, was also very extensive. Not only did this desolating event promote the Revolution, by the distress it occasioned, but it afforded the people opportunities of forming tumultuous assemblies, that the government could not restrain. What cruel measures of police could censure the people for endeavouring to get bread? Their business called them to the baker's shops, and murmurs upon a particular subject easily received a more general application, so that every street became a public forum, where men, women, and children, indiscriminately mixed together, to arraign the conduct of the Court.

At length the much desired period arrived, that was fondly expected by the great mass of the people to terminate all the disorders and tumults of the kingdom. His Majesty met the States-General on the 4th of May, 1789, in one assembly, and left them without noticing the contention that was in embryo, relative to voting in separate chambers.

The aristocratical, royal, and ecclesiastical intriguers were now as busy as the patriotic intriguers had been before; and they so far succeeded, that, on the following morning, three different rooms were prepared for them. Among the Nobles and the Clergy there were many, who either from laudable or disgraceful motives were disposed to join the Commons, and they exerted themselves to unite all in one assembly; these continued to join the Third Estate, who occupied the hall in which the King had met them, where they affected to know nothing of

the other chambers, and to proceed as the complete body of national representatives. At last the Abbé Sieyes prevailed upon the Commons to alter their style and put an end to the dispute for the general satisfaction of the people. His motion was that they should declare themselves "the Representatives of the Nation, and that the two orders could be considered in no other light than as deputies of corporations, who could only have a deliberative voice when they assembled in a national character with the national representatives." This measure was adopted unanimously; and the character of States-General was lost in that of the National Assembly, which instantly became the uncontroulable sovereign of the country.

Every pretention to distinct legislative powers was annihilated by this decree, and all subsequent opposition to it was regarded as a sort of rebellion; all the moderate men, therefore, of the two orders, joined the National Assembly.

The arrogant and imperious, however, resolved not to submit to what they thought an irrecoverable degradation, and from the mere love of self, were, for the first time, willing to act with the King; like the aristocracy of all countries, so long as the dispute remained between the King and the people, they were contented to let it take its own course; but now that they seemed more likely to lose than to gain by it, they were desirous of making a tool of the King to promote their base and sordid purposes. A regular royal, noble, and clerical combination was then formed, with a view to overthrow the National Assembly; but all their proceedings were so peurile and contemptible, that they ought rather to have been ridiculed for their folly than punished for their wickedness. Arrangements were made for collecting a large number of troops round the metropolis, and it was intended to station a considerable body of them between Paris and Versailles, where the Assembly met; but, instead of suffering the sittings to continue till the troops had

arrived, their session was closed by a party of soldiers taking possession of their chamber. This impolitic step served to prepare both the Assembly and the citizens for the attack that was about to be made upon their rising liberties, although it produced none of the advantages that the combination expected from it; for the Assembly met immediately in a Tennis Court, and *there swore to each other never to separate till they had formed a new constitution.*

The courage and the patriotism displayed in this sublime resolution, passed at a moment when all the vindictive and cruel scourges that ambition and revenge could contrive, were collecting, with deliberate malice, for the punishment of all who had made themselves obnoxious, and could not fail to raise the Assembly to the highest possible pitch of glory. The most insensible and indifferent now took a lively interest in the fate and proceedings of the representative body, and its success became identified with that of the nation. The Princes, the Nobles, and the Clergy, may appeal to the rectitude of their intention, and complain that they were suspected of preparing severities which they never intended; but if their views were so harmless, how can they excuse themselves for the mysterious and equivocal conduct which they adopted, and for their ineffectual irritations, which gave the people ground to apprehend, that the very worst of evils would be the consequence of their success.

Preparations were now made by the patriotic clubs, for training their friends in different parts of the kingdom in the use of arms, and a little time would have furnished a body sufficiently powerful to have made a diversion in favor of the Assembly, in case any attempt had been made to arrest them. Such a precaution was unnecessary, for the members were again permitted to take quiet possession of their own chamber, and the government seemed to possess no other function than that of furnishing means to the Assembly to secure its triumph.

The King was persuaded to hold a Royal Session, and the three orders were summoned to attend him, as if no dispute had happened. They all met in the great hall, as on the first day of the convocation. The two privileged orders entered at the great gates, the same as his Majesty, and were seated at their ease in the chief places, which were assigned to them, while the representatives of the people were obliged to squeeze in at a backdoor, and were detained several hours in the rain, till "their lordships" and "their reverences" were seated! A speech was delivered by the King upon the occasion, suited only to the darkest ages of political servility, and altogether incompatible with the opinions that were adopted by the whole people. He began by lamenting the disputes that had taken place about the form of the meeting, and insisted upon the orders being kept separate, for which purpose he commanded the Commons to annul the famous decree by which they had constituted the National Assembly, a species of submission that it was a great folly to expect; for, if they found that no other power could dissolve them, it was not likely that they would commit suicide upon themselves, especially as they continued to be gradually joined by deserters from the other two orders: Louis did not fail to assure them of his co-operation to improve the laws and the condition of the people, but he promised nothing specific; and he absolutely refused his assent to some of the most favourite projects: His principal object seemed to be to impress the Assembly with a sense of his own greatness, and that whatever good might be done, they would owe it to his entire condescension. The Commons listened to him with silent indignation, which he ridiculously raised to its highest degree, by commanding the Deputies to break up immediately upon his departure, and to repair, on the following day, to their respective chambers.

His Majesty's command was instantly obeyed by the refractory Nobles and Clergy, but the Commons remain-

ed motionless, although the workmen were employed in taking down the throne and other decorations. Amidst the awful silence that ensued, M. de Brezé, Grand Master of the Ceremonies, approached, and signified that the King had ordered them to retire; but he, as well as the workmen, was struck with reverential awe, upon receiving a severe rebuke from the Count de Mirabeau, who had greatly distinguished himself by the vigor of his mind and the power of his eloquence. "We know, for we have heard," said Mirabeau, "what they have suggested to the King; but who made you the organ between him and the States-General? you! who have neither seat, nor voice, nor right to open your lips here; how dare you to bring his discourse to our recollection! However, to avoid every species of equivocation and delay, if you are charged to expel us from this place, you will do well to get orders for the employment of a suitable force, for we will only quit it at the point of the bayonet."

The situation of the Assembly dictated two resolutions, which were immediately passed unanimously, viz. "that they persisted in their former declarations," and "that the persons of the Deputies were sacred and inviolable." This spirited conduct induced the Duke of Orleans and a great number of the nobles to join the Assembly on the following days; and on the 27th of June, just four days after the Royal Session, the King expressly recommended the remaining number of the two orders to unite with the Assembly.

Although the contradiction of forbidding and recommending a union, in so short a period, was so evident, the people did not seem to doubt the sincerity of the proceeding: the news spread with the rapidity of lightning; and the inhabitants of Versailles, considering that the King had finally accomplished the salvation and happiness of the nation, ran to the palace, and saluted the royal family with reiterated acclamations of heartfelt gratitude. M. Necker also, who was supposed to have

advised his Majesty to adopt that conciliatory measure, was hailed as the warmest friend of the country, and the joyful day was concluded by a general illumination.

It being no longer possible to oppose any legal objection to the proceedings of the National Assembly, the public began to look with anxious expectation to its labours; in the interim all authority was, in a great degree, suspended; their endeavours were principally directed to the formation of a new constitution, and the general persuasion that the existing laws were to be abolished in *toto*, taught the rude and unthinking to despise them: the administration and the police doubted whether they could, conscientiously, enforce what was generally declared to be vicious, and the uncontrolled passions of the self-willed seemed to have found a jubilee, in which all their eccentricities might expand without submitting to any restraints.

The experience of civilized life has found it necessary to prevent the rude inclinations of one being destroying the just rights of another; and the first step that any revolutionary body ought to take in all cases is, to declare the public authorities responsible for the strict administration of the existing laws, till they may be fairly superseded by new ones. The National Assembly took no such precaution, and the lower orders of the people, in most parts of France, burst suddenly from the state of abject servility to which they had been long degraded, without any other feeling than a sense of the oppression they had suffered, and with no other guide than the desire to be revenge, on all those by whom they were, or thought they had been injured.

The most unfortunate circumstance of this crisis was, that neither of the parties were sincere with each other; a great part of the Assembly intended to convert the monarchy into a republic, but they could not have avowed their design in the outset, because the people would have rejected so desperate and unjust a measure in a

manner that must have precluded the possibility of the overture being repeated, and therefore the determination of those members was to push the King to extremities, in order that, by degrees, he might become odious to the people. At the same time the Court never designed to grant the Assembly all the liberty that was promised to it, and the apparent compliance with its wishes was only a stratagem to allay the disquietude of the populace, and put the Assembly off its guard till a force might be collected sufficient to crush them altogether.

Neither party in this state of things could offend a turbulent and numerous rabble. The Assembly saw no other power on which it could effectually rely, in case of being attacked by the king's troops; for the quiet and regular citizens would hardly find the power of reason sufficiently strong to sustain the rudeness of the shock, and the Court, though it placed no reliance upon this aid, was not willing to drive it to the support of the Assembly by any kind of provocation. In fact, both parties were willing to administer to the base passions of the mob, and the consequence was, that disorder and tumult were, for a great length of time, the principal characteristics of the country.

Among the exuberant imaginations, that took their flight upon this occasion, was that of the Marquis de Valadi, an officer who had served in the French guards, and learned, among the savages of America, that his own manner of life was so much better than what any one else could display, that he had no objection to cut the throats of one half of mankind if by that means he could force his system upon the other. This gentleman became a passionate admirer of the new cause of liberty, because it freed him from the painful necessity of consulting the comforts and conveniences of others; and, having become one of a cabal, that now met at the Palais-royal, the residence of the Duke of Orleans, a near relation to the King, he invited as many of his comrades to the entertainment

as could be prevailed upon to attend. The reception that these truant soldiers met with was of the most cordial and flattering kind, and great numbers were encouraged to follow the example: the charms of liberty were thus sounded in the ears of the soldiers, and they were pathetically implored not to assist in shedding the blood of their fellow citizens. From those feasts the heroic visitors were conducted, in procession, through the city; and all the seduction of female charms and good cheer, which the immense revenues of the Palais-royal could provide, were profusely distributed, to allure them into an approbation of the measures of the Assembly.

A circumstance happened, shortly after the Assembly had united, which strongly marked the character likely to be assumed by the Revolution. Some soldiers of the French guards had been imprisoned in the abbey of St. Germain, who, upon learning the disorder that prevailed in different corps, wrote to the Palais-royal, and, with the confident gaiety natural to the French, described themselves as sufferers in the cause of liberty, who had been arrested for their attachment to the people. The letter was read by one of the persons styled orators, of whom many were now constantly seen lecturing to crowds in all the public walks; and, in the moment of intoxication, the whole multitude resolved upon hastening to the prison, and liberating their fellow citizens: the patriotic soldiers, the bludgeon, the pickaxe, and the crow, were everywhere put in requisition, and a motley multitude proceeded to distribute justice without preserving even the forms of trial!

Of such a tribunal the consequence ought to have been apparent to every sober man in France; it could as easily inflict punishment as proclaim liberty, and the danger into which such a state of things thrust every individual, ought to have united every honest man against those irregular proceedings.

No effectual resistance was made at the prison, and a

party of dragoons, that was ordered out upon the occasion, arrived just time enough to see the released soldiers borne in triumph as the heroes of the day, and the generosity of a mob government burst upon them with such irresistible charms, that they could not resist the temptation of joining in the cavalcade, and the success of this attempt encouraged the frantic malcontents to inflict the severest penalties in the same despotic manner.

Accounts of these proceedings were laid before the Assembly, who, in the case alluded to, endeavoured to preserve as much respect for the public authority as they could, without provoking the hasty disapprobation of the rabble. The soldiers had not been imprisoned for their politics, but for different crimes, yet it would have been dangerous to have contradicted the vociferations of the mob; it had now become a powerful despot, and, like the most imperial tyrant, would not allow itself to be mistaken: the Assembly, therefore, submissively recommended, as the most convenient compromise between order and disorder, that the rioters should keep the prisoners under their own care, till the King could be prevailed upon to send a pardon for them. By this farce the shadow of authority was preserved though the substance had departed.

The Court made no objection to this proposal, for the forces that had been ordered to march to the capital were now approaching so fast, that a few days, it was thought, would transfer the public authority from the missile weapons of the discontented and the disorderly to the point of the bayonet. Most of the foreign troops in the King's pay were upon their march, and the frequent disturbances afforded a pretence for establishing a camp in the neighbourhood of Paris. Several messages were sent to the King upon this subject by the Assembly, but he assured them that his only object was to restore the public tranquillity. The uneasiness of the members in-

creased, and the King answered their complaints in a way that only served to multiply their suspicions. "The troops," said he, "are indispensibly necessary at Paris, but you may remove your sittings to Noyon or Soissons, in which case I will repair to Compeigne." Such a proposal could not possibly be accepted, for it would have placed the Assembly between the princes in Paris and those on the frontiers, while it would have cut off all assistance from their friends in the Capital.

THE END OF CHAP. IV.

CHAPTER V.

CAUSES AND PROGRESS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION CONTINUED.

*Vengeance of the Court generally expected....Dismissal and Exile of Mounsieur Necker....Public Regret and Tumults on the Occasion....The Prince of Lambese strikes an old Man....The People fly to Arms and repulse his Regiment....Treachery of the Mayor of Paris....Prompt Decision of the Multitude....They seize the Arms in the Hospital of the Invalids....*THE REVOLUTION....*The 14th of July 1789....The Bastille summoned....The Governor demands a Parley, which is refused....The Bastille taken by Storm....Reflections.*

MUTUAL jealousies and explanations, frequent paroxysms of tumultuous frenzy, and various attempts to form a new Constitution, brought the proceedings of the National Assembly down to the eleventh of July, when all the elements of restless distraction began to lour throughout the vast expanse of political combination with such a threatning aspect, that the imagination became bewildered by the catalogue of woes that were announced, and the mind seemed to stagger beneath the weight of its own conjectures. The Count de Mirabeau had expressed himself so energetically, upon the symptoms of a dangerous conspiracy on the part of the Court against the deliberations and existence of the Assembly, that the popular party looked up to him as a leader and deliverer, and the Court evidently began to hasten its preparations for some desperate explosion.

Upon one point only had the confidence of the Assembly and the people reposed for some days, M. Necker was considered the sincere friend of liberty, and it was thought impossible that any hostile measures could be

attempted, so long as he remained in the ministry; the Court rather endured, than employed him, and his dismissal from office was resolved upon the moment that the forces was thought sufficient to triumph over the public voice. "The Ministry is dismissed, and Necker is sent into exile!" was echoed by every voice throughout Versailles, and the most unfeigned grief was depicted on every countenance. A new administration was appointed, consisting of the most violent enemies of liberty, and every one expected that the foreign troops would receive orders to seize upon the National Assembly without delay.

Intelligence of such importance, would, upon ordinary occasions, have been circulated throughout Paris in a few hours, but all the high roads and direct ways had become so barricadoed that no foot passenger, nor even the post, could pass to carry the news. It arrived circuitously and by slow degrees, and, when it was at first related, it was treated as a report, wickedly invented to excite confusion: at last it reached the Palais-royal, in a shape that would no longer admit of a doubt. The Minister was gone, no one knew whither, and the representatives of the people might be already incarcerated in the dungeons of the state. No language can describe the agitation that instantaneously convulsed the vast population of Paris. It was a mixture of grief and indignation, impetuously hurried on by all the anxieties of doubt. Pleasure no longer possessed the charms of pleasing, and the least indication of joy would have been considered as a crime. All the theatres were immediately shut, by order of the people.

Busts of Necker and the Duke of Orleans were procured, and carried about the streets, covered with crape, and the air resounded with the names of their favourite. It was even suggested, that the King ought to be dethroned, and the Duke of Orleans appointed his successor, as a certain mean of effecting the return of the

Minister. The bells of all the churches were tolled, and the people were collected in crowds upon the bridges, and in all the open places of the city, where the most fanciful and talkative endeavoured to inflame their indignation with all the anticipations of military vengeance and executions, that the late tumults had exposed them to. The dispositions of the foreign corps were contrasted with those of the French guards, and pains were taken to shew, that both the French soldiers and the French people, ought to unite all their efforts to save their country from being given up to the pillage and punishment of hired hordes. In the midst of these lectures the Prince of Lambesc appeared at the head of a German regiment, to clear the streets, and to disperse the multitude. No circumstance could have occurred more calculated to increase the fury of the people, and the most insignificant lecturer found himself capable of leading large bodies to any enterprize that he might suggest, by the mere art of exciting their indignation against any passing event.—A mere accident formed an immediate hot-bed, by which France was instantly supplied with legislators and commanders in chief, ready to resist the most powerful efforts of the best established governments.

The Palais-royal became the central resort for those congregations, and was the most convenient spot for rallying all the forces of the city, as well on account of being situated nearly in the middle of Paris, as of the ready access that it afforded to all descriptions of people. Here Gorsas, an obscure schoolmaster, with Ciceronian eloquence, was stimulating his audience, and there Camille Desmoulins, an advocate of considerable talents, was irritating the passions of the multitude by every species of theatrical flourish that his fertile imagination could suggest. With a pistol in each hand Camille was vehemently haranguing, to prove, that no man was certain of his life and liberty for a single hour; when a re-

port was circulated, that the Prince of Lambesc, in his march, had struck an old man with his sword. No pains were taken to examine whether the report were true or false, or whether, if true, the Prince had been stimulated by anger, or a humane desire of saving the aged person from being trampled under his horse's feet; a skirmish had ensued between the Parisians and the troops, and a general cry of "To arms! to arms!" impelled every creature to the field of action.

The rallying Citizens found the Prince at the head of his cavalry, near to a spot where preparations were making to build a new bridge. Scarcely had they reached the ground, when, by a kind of instinctive movement, they seized upon the stones, and, impetuously rushing upon the soldiers, broke their ranks, and threw them into the utmost confusion. The sound of musketry alarmed the French guards, who rushed from their quarters, and putting themselves under the command of the Marquis de Valadi, flew to the succour of their countrymen. The foreign regiment was discomfited, and withdrew; whilst the citizens were flushed with victory, and becoming confident in their numbers, were encouraged to undertake the most desperate enterprises.

It was late on the 12th of July, that the cavalry were driven out of Paris, and it was hourly expected that the Marshall Broglio, who held the command of all the corps in the neighbourhood, and who was attached to the most despotic principles, would attempt to reduce the city. The apprehension was terrible, repose was banished from every breast, and sleep refused to grant a momentary respite from disquietude! The hearts of mothers palpitated with the most dreadful alarms for the safety of their infants, whilst the fears of the rich were increased by a sense of the *more* than common dangers to which they were exposed, in a moment when all the barriers were thrown down between temptation and gratification.

The silent hours of night were chased away by the

clangour of alarums, and the different rude weapons that an irregular multitude could purloin from the various domestic and manufacturing purposes to which they were usually applied, every house became a fortress, and every citizen a soldier.—Morning arrived, but no enemy made his appearance!—All was suspence, but the mysterious delay had no tendency to restore the public tranquility. No motive could retard the interference of government, but a desire to mature its plans, and, as the dangers would increase by the length of time that was required to strengthen them, no time was to be lost in preparing to meet them.

All the shops were shut, and all business was at an end. The Electors of Paris were spontaneously formed into a provisonary government, and the final issue of the contest was expected with the greatest impatience.

Whilst Paris was thus preparing the means of defence the situation of the National Assembly was supposed to be most perilous; the communication with Versailles was in a great measure cut off by the intermediate bodies of troops, and, in case of attack, the inhabitants of Versailles could afford no resistance to the armed force. But the Assembly betrayed no symptoms of fear, the members seemed convinced that they had more justice on their side than could possibly be asserted on that of the Court, and their whole reliance was placed in the rectitude of their cause, and the zeal of their fellow citizens.

On the night of the 13th, means of correspondence were found between the Assembly and the Provisionary Municipality of Paris, and it was discovered that M. de Flesselles, the Mayor of Paris, who professed to be in the interest of the Citizens, was taking measures to betray them into the power of Broglio. The intercepted correspondence proved, that the Marshall intended to enter into the city on the following evening, when the people should be subdued by excessive fatigue, and be too weary to resist the allurements of sleep. Hostilities were

suit to commence within a few hours, and by draining the plans of the enemy, his defeat might be secured.

The Bastille was at once the fortress and the prison that was to be feared—It was there that all the satellites of despotism would fix their head-quarters; it was there that both the deputies and their constituents would be stowed away in caverns and in cells. There it was that their lives would continue to waste away by the ruffian arm of relentless tyranny, and the only way to divest the monster of his power, was to spoil him of his refuge and his home.—"To the Bastille! to the Bastille!" was echoed throughout the city, on the morning of the memorable FOURTEENTH of JULY, 1789, and an army of forty thousand desperadoes whimsically armed with offensive instruments of all sorts, intermingled with a few hundreds of soldiers, set out on their march. When their leaders had put them in motion, it was necessary to accustom them to some order, and accordingly they were wheeled about to attack the Hospital of the Invalids, where a large magazine of arms was kept. No great resistance was attempted, the magazine was stripped, and the glittering arms served to convert those raw recruits into the most confident of soldiers. From the Invalids to the Batille, the whole length of the city was to be traversed, and the multitude greatly increased by the way.

On arriving at the fortress, a deputation from the Provisionary Municipality demanded admission, in the name of the people. De Launay, the governor, was in a situation the most awful that any individual could have to sustain.—His duty to his Sovereign forbade him to yield to any other power, and his duty to his countrymen forbade him to shed blood in any avoidable case. He might even be in the secret of the Court, and wish to hold out till a reinforcement might entirely disperse the assailants; but, whether this were so or not, it was no unreasonable demand, that he should be allowed some time, before he could decide upon the proper course to

take.—He demanded a parley, "Deliver the keys!" was the answer of the multitude. He could not resolve. A shower of stones and a fire of musketry might hasten his decision. The experiment was tried, and the Governor resolved to stand a siege. All the attempts to effect a breach failed of success, and many of them were killed. At last a private soldier got over the guard-house, and forced the first draw-bridge, by means of a hatchet, while others broke open the outer gate, and entered the court. These were soon repelled by the garrison, and the ground regained. The conflict became desperate, and the issue doubtful. The bodies of the wounded lay scattered on the ground, and the fury of the people was increased even to madness.

At this critical moment arrived two detachments of soldiers, headed by two non-commissioned officers, and these were followed by a numerous train of Volunteers, headed by citizen Hulin, who had prevailed upon a number of the French guards also to join the people. An accession of new courage invigorated the whole body. They set fire to some waggons of straw, and by their means burnt and destroyed the out-works. Several pieces of cannon were now brought to play upon the building, and the castle was at length taken by storm, after a few hours resistance. What a glorious triumph! how big with event. When shall we see an end of the blessings which it promises to mankind. Will they be of no longer duration than other achievements of man? Or shall we ever have to say, that the conquerors of the Bastille have spilled their blood in vain?

Liberty is a species of divinity that we contemplate with reverence, and worship afar off!—Shall we now approach her familiarly, and behold her benign influence constantly before us?—Let us, at least, indulge the delusive hope as long as we can. The Bastille is destroyed!—The victors are rummagging the cells! See the poor

emaciated wretches, that have been for years entombed in its infernal dungeons, shut out from every cheering ray of hope, and doomed to spend the lingering load of life in one eternal blank!—Behold the instruments of torture! till this free hour, most scrupulously hidden from public view. These are the tools by which a cruel tyrant works his secret vengeance—screws out his wrath amongst his victim's blood, and through the body finds a way to melt the greatest soul to mere servility. The caves are opened and the prisoners fly! Hail! dear assertors of your country's rights! No human mind can look upon your conquest with indifference, and he must grossly be perverted by mistaken theories, whose heart does not rejoice at your success. The power is now in your own hands; if you will become the supporters of freedom, you must become the ministers of justice, and you cannot trench upon the freedom of another, even by mistake, without endangering your own.

THE END OF CHAP. V.

CHAPTER VI.

Joy of the Parisians on the taking of the Bastille.... Contradictory Accounts of that Event....Alarming State of the National Assembly....Their precautionary Resolutions....Their Emotions on being informed of the Events at Paris....Their Deputations to the King....Patriotic Conduct of the Duc de Liancourt on his Interview with the King....The King's Visit to the Assembly, and their Conduct thereon....Rejoicings of the Populace on the Reconciliation of the King and the Assembly....Deputation from the National Assembly to the Capital....M. Bailly, appointed Mayor.A.M. Necker recalled, and again Minister ....The King visits Paris, to the great Joy of the Parisians....State of the Public Mind....Commencement of the REIGN *of* FEAR....*Venality of the Factions....Odious Power of the Revolutionists.*

THE attention of all Europe had been directed towards the capital of France, and many illustrious strangers had assembled upon the spot, least the sinister representations of others sould deprive them of any incident of the important drama that was expected with so much anxiety. How much stronger were the feelings of the people of France. The news of the taking the Bastille darted through Paris as rapidly as the rays of the sun, and one unbroken shout declared the rapturous joys of the people.

It is one of the greatest misfortunes attendant upon a season of public agitation, that falsehood obtains as easy a circulation as truth.—The calumnies dictated by revenge, and the fables invented by the lovers of the marvellous, are so mingled with every occurrence, that an acute and patient investigation is absolutely necessary to determine in all such cases how much of any narration

should be believed. But the patient voice of reason is not to be heard in the tumult of commotion, and the temptation to *evil* actions are so numerous, that it is principally *good* ones which excite surprise. The people of Paris, are, therefore, not to be wholly condemned, because the first hour that they became possessed of authority, they made a more tyrannical use of it than had ever been attempted by the despotism which they had overthrown.

Immediately after the taking of the Bastille, every spectator, as well as every assailant, began his own relation of the transaction, and it was reported, that M. de Launay, the governor, had decoyed a number of the people within the gates, under the pretence of supplying them with arms, and that when he had them in his power, he cruelly put them to death. Of a man already hated, on account of the situation he held, no stronger pretence was asked for making him a signal example of emancipated vengeance.—There is no reason to believe that the report was true, for if it had, the besiegers would not have suffered him to have breathed a single moment after they had surrounded him with their pikes; they, however, not only considered him as a prisoner, fairly within the laws of war, but they were proceeding with him to the *Hotel de Ville*, to give him up to the Magistrates, when the intoxicating spirit of unrestrained power found that human victims were necessary to its continuation: and the *imperial mob*, in the true character of a rude and ferocious tyrant, fell instantly upon their prisoner, and hacked him to pieces. M. de Losme, an inferior officer, and M. de Flesselles, the Mayor, shared the same fate; and, having no ensigns of pillaged cities, no plunder of depopulated towns, no such trophies of their renown as high and polished conquerors usually display, these uncultivated retail dealers in human blood, mounted the bleeding heads of the Mayor and Governor upon their long pikes, and bore them in savage procession, as emblems of their giddy vanity.

Cruel and wicked as these transactions were, they were less culpable in the persons who committed them, than is the conduct of those persons, whether in France, or any other country, who can attempt their justification. The mob was in a situation wholly novel, the very nature of which precluded reflection. It was surrounded by many real dangers, and more imaginary ones, and it was operated upon by false rumours; but persons, who, after having had leisure to reflect, can apologise for such atrocious conduct, whatever their professions about liberty may be, would, if they had the opportunity, support the most odious and detstable tyranny that can be imagined.

During this severe conflict the National Assembly were not in a condition to assist or discourage any measures of the Parisians. Various alarming reports of the intentions of the Court were circulated, some dictated by cowardice, and some by design. At one moment the members were all to be seized, and, after being condemned as rebels, were to be tortured to death. At another, the soldiers were marching, with a hundred pieces of cannon, to batter their hall to ruins, and bury the members in the rubbish.—Different members exerted their eloquence, to inspire fortitude and unanimity in the Assembly, and a remonstrance was sent to the King on the general state of affairs, in consequence of the change in the ministry. The King answered in too arrogant and indifferent a style, and the Assembly passed a string of declaratory resolutions, tending to shew that no confidence whatever could be reposed in the new ministry. It was also resolved, not to adjourn, even during the night.

The Assembly was constantly crowded with spectators, who felt all the different emotions that agitated the members. Such, indeed, was the peculiarity of the crisis, that every harangue that was delivered, infused an excess of enthusiasm into the audience, which recoiled upon the orators, and inspired them with double courage.

The imminent danger which hung over all their labours,

induced the Assembly to turn their attention to the completion of the new Constitution; a Committee was therefore appointed on the 14th of July, to report upon it without delay. Infinitely important as this object was considered at the rising of this day's sun, a few hours chased it from the recollection. Viscount de Noailles unexpectedly appeared in the hall; he had escaped, he said, from Paris, and with great difficulty had contrived to pass the patroles. When he quitted Paris, the whole city had armed itself from the Hospital of the Invalids, and the Bastille was besieged. He had not waited for the issue, and only knew that the troops destined for the Champ de Mars were expected every moment to relieve the fortress, which could not be effected without deluging the city in blood.

The whole Assembly was appalled at the dreadful intelligence. Let us fly to the relief of our fellow-citizens! cried many of the members. "Let us rather burst into the presence of the King," said many others, and "call upon him to behold the fruits of his councils! It is now time that he should decide whether he will be the king, or the murderer of his People." To describe the general effect produced by the various feelings of joy, grief, and terror, which, by turns, agitated every person, would be impossible; all were peculiar to the circumstances of the moment, and none but those who were present can possibly comprehend the sublimity of the scene.

A deputation had been sent to the King; but it had not returned, although the hall of the Assembly was not four hundred yards from the Palace. In the interval a deputation arrived from the electors, (now the magistrates) of Paris, to the Assembly. Their report was something more precise than the Viscount's, but the victory had not been decided when they came away. The King's answer arrived, it was vague and unimportant, such as it might have been if he had not had a sense of the calamities of the country. In fine, a third messenger reached the As-

sembly from Paris, and a third deputation was sent to the King.

What could be the King's motive for confiding his government to the new Ministers at such a critical moments, and what could be the principles upon which those Ministers acted during the three days that they were in office, are perhaps questions that are involved in so many of the concealments and misrepresentations of political intrigue, that posterity will never be able to learn the truth. But certainly those principles, and that infatuation must have been very extraordinary which could have shut up the Sovereign as a prisoner in his palace, and have studiously concealed from him the calamities of this kingdom, at a moment when they ought to have known that he was in danger of losing it, and also every fragment of the monarchy even to the name of King. If the fact were not authenticated upon the best authority, it could not be believed that the King remained ignorant of the state of his capital till he was no longer in a condition to display either his power or his moderation. Ministers had blindly adhered to the projects of ambition, even when the means of their accomplishment where fleeting from them; and it was not till the Duc de Liancourt insisted upon being admitted into the Royal Palace, that they could decide upon the line of conduct that was proper to pursue. His Majesty was retired to rest, but moments were now too precious to be wasted in useless ceremony. The Duke ingenuously related the alarming aspect of affairs to the King, and in a candid and friendly manner, explained to him the personal danger to which he was exposed. His Majesty soon saw that the Municipality of Paris, with a hundred thousand men in arms, would be able to send an army to Versailles sufficient to take him prisoner in his own palace. No more time was to be lost in temporizing. "What a terrible revolt!" exclaimed the King. "No Sire," observed the Duke, "it is no revolt, but a great

revolution, the nation demands only the inviolability of its representatives. When your Majesty's troops shall have left the National Assembly to the freedom of its discussions, there will not be found a discontented subject in the land."

One of the King's brothers, (Count d'Artois) had incurred the severest censures of the people, on account of the *hauteur* of his manners. He was still adverse to conciliatory measures. "As for you, Sir," said the Duke, "a price is set upon your head, I have myself seen the act of proscription posted up in the streets."

Such awful intelligence could not fail to spread the greatest dismay and consternation through the whole Court. The Prince saw that his only security was in a precipitate flight, and the Ministers followed his example with so much rapidity, that they escaped before the accounts of the Revolution could encourage the provincial patriots to shut the barriers of the towns through which they passed.

The Duc de Liancourt obtained the King's assurance, that he would attend the Assembly, and he communicated the intelligence shortly before his Majesty was ready to proceed. The Assembly resolved that the King ought to be received with silence. The visit was wholly unpremeditated on both sides, no preparations were made for it. Without a body guard, or any of the attendants of royalty, the Sovereign of the first empire in the world, who, only a few days before, had been attended to the same hall by the proudest race of nobles, and a long train of the most magnificent attendants that could possibly aggrandize human splendour, now entered the assembly, uncovered, and unsaluted by the slightest ceremonial, to implore protection against a lawless rabble!

The many gloomy countenances that the King beheld were not calculated to inspire him with much confidence; yet Louis addressed the Assembly without any apparent embarrassment. He exhorted them to use their utmost

endeavours to re establish the tranquillity of the capital, and assured the Assembly that he relied upon them, in this important crisis, with the utmost confidence. At these words many demonstrations of joy burst forth from the seats occupied by the Nobles and the Clergy, most of the Commons sat silent and unmoved—they could not be contented with being *very* good, but they must emulate a very foolish, though a very common desire, to be *too* good—It was not enough that they had humbled the King, they must also degrade him, and their very laudable efforts to surmount the despotism of the monarchy, became converted into a desire to exercise a despotic power over the Monarch himself. "I know," continued the King, "that unjust prejudices have been conceived. I know that false reports have been propagated; but is not my known character a sufficient answer to those malignant calumnies. I come," added he, "to declare to you that I and my people are the same. My whole trust is in you. Assist me to secure the salvation of the state. I have commanded the troops to retire, and I exhort you to assure the capital of the sincerity of my intentions."

At the close of this speech, the hall resounded with reiterated bursts of applause, and after the President had assured his Majesty that the Assembly would take the most effectual measures for restoring the public peace, the members all arose, and conducted the King to his palace.

Crowds were waiting without, with the most earnest expectation; and when the King appeared, accompanied by the Assembly, the air was rent by shouts of joy, and blessings were poured upon his head, as if he were regarded as the deliverer of his people. The whole manner of the King seemed to be changed; and now, that he had, as it were, escaped from the restraints and from the reserve of despotic pomp, he was eager to answer every one

that pressed about him, and he heard, with the most open affability, the details which they were anxious to give of what had happened. According to appearances, both the King and the people had become free, and were both happy in consequence.

The National Assembly now possessed the sovereign power in all its plenitude, and nothing was necessary but a firm adherence, as well as a dignified use of its authority, to have secured the liberty of France for a long series, of ages. Unfortunately, the majority of the Assembly was composed of the same kind of men as those who had presided over the affairs of that country for a considerable time. It was in vain that a few clear sighted and intrepid members, urged the necessity of guarding their rising liberties from daily violation by a brutal and licentious rabble; the majority appeared as if they had only displayed an unusual degree of courage in their behaviour to the King, that they might reserve the whole stock of their cowardice to traffic with in their commerce with the people.

A deputation, of eighty members, was sent from the Assembly to the capital, and M. Bailly, who had been their president, was appointed Mayor of Paris. The Marquis de la Fayette, who had also been president of the Assembly, was appointed Commander of the national guards, and M. Necker, being recalled by the Assembly, resumed his situation as Minister.

The same promptitude and prudence that induced the King to visit the National Assembly induced him to visit the capital also, and his journey was attended with the same success. On his approach to Paris he was met by M. de la Fayette, at the head of the national guards: a mixed multitude of the citizens of Paris, irregularly armed with different weapons, and the surly shouts of, "Long live the Nation!" indicated no disposition to treat him very respectfully. When his Majesty arrived at the *Hotel de Ville* he was required to put on a cockade, that

the people had assumed, as the ensign of their triumph; and, as, he evinced no objection, the mob became somewhat reconciled to him. He was, at one time, indeed, very near overthrowing all the effects of his goodnature; for one of the electors addressed him in a style of republican freedom that puzzled him how to answer it; but the Mayor adroitly stepped forward and saved the King from the dilemma, by answering in his name.

The conduct of the King upon this, as upon most other occasions, evinced a high degree of benevolence and goodness of heart; he seemed to indulge all the wishes of the people, and his conciliatory manners produced such an effect upon the multitude, that, when he appeared at one of the windows, a general acclamation of "Long live the King!" resounded from all quarters, in spite of the malignant efforts of a number of unprincipled men, who mixed amongst the crowd, with a determination to excite hatred against him, at all events.

The series of events, which terminated in this extraordinary manner, was characterized in France as an emancipation from slavery! in the other countries of Europe it was hailed by thousands as a most glorious Revolution! Unfortunately, the people of Europe saw nothing that passed in France but what appeared in the public prints of that country; and the powerful party (as powerful parties always will do) took care that nothing should be printed which would have operated against their own pursuits. Unfortunately also, the people of France were too much agitated to find leisure for a very nice definition of terms, to which they had been long unaccustomed. Without, therefore, taking the trouble to ascertain the precise ideas expressed by the words Liberty and Slavery, they were as contented (as, unhappily, many persons are, in all states, who have not such good reasons) to echo the sound, without regarding the sense.

Instead of liberty, there is not an honest man in the universe, acquainted with the circumstances, who does not see that France had, by a power nearly magical, con-

verted her own despotism into the most hateful and mischievous tyranny of which any kind of human policy is capable. Not a noble passion nor a generous sentiment was allowed to display itself in France, after the 15th of July; but every action, as well of the conquerors as of the subdued, was, from that moment, rendered subservient to FEAR!

This species of violent tyranny was equally aided by the crafty and the ignorant, who were guided by different impulses, to sway a weapon, which, of all others, every class in every nation ought most honourably to prohibit, as the most mischievous—the propagation of falsehood; and the various alarms, excited by false reports, gave the triumphant party an opportunity of *creating so much government*, that they had places and offices to bestow upon the most insignificant of their retainers, and scarcely a street was to be found in Paris but what had its governor appointed, to tell the people when they might be permitted to go abroad and when they should be obliged to stay at home! This mischief was, however, greatly increased by the circumstance of the government being so divided, that what was law at one part of the city was not law at another; and the characters and fortunes of the citizens might be exposed to either, more or less capricious, according as they were in this or that section: before any one of these free Frenchmen could go abroad, it was necessary that he should be furnished with a card of civism, from the municipality of his section; but a man might be an object of calumny in one district who was known to be wholly innocent in another! and, as a person was never certain that his passport would not beguile him to a spot where ignorant officiousness might be waiting to place him within the fangs of suspicion, the most quiet and peaceable of the people saw no safety but in shutting themselves up in secret, and guarding their gestures and looks from being construed into symptoms of treason against the vicious inclinations of the mob.

CHAPTER VII.

Emigration....Parties in the new Government....Aristocrats....Jacobins....Disorders throughout France....Hatred of the Clergy....Selfishness of the National Assembly....Instances of popular Tyranny....Decree of Emancipation from unequal Taxation....Abolition of Feudality, Tythes, &c....Weakness of the National Assembly....Their financial Incapacity....Failure of Public Credit....Patriotic Offerings ....Inconsistent Conduct of the National Assembly, by decreeing an oppressive Tax on Income....The Orleans Faction ....Mirabeau's Deceit....Parisian Tumults.

THE measures adopted in Paris, were copied in most of the provinces and chief cities of France, and the jealousies of the people were roused upon such trifling occasions, that persons of free and careless manners were constantly exposed to the greatest dangers, and great numbers of individuals, of every class, found their only safety in emigrating from their country.

The new order of things gave rise to so many offices and situations of public authority, to which no one had any superior claim upon the ground of previous qualifications, that the most desperate and boisterous among the discontented of all classes, forced themselves, as it were, into the rising government, by dint of mere noise and clamour; and, as these persons were now determined to divide the kingdom amongst themselves, they formed associations, into which they admitted no person who did not implicitly assent to all their dogmas, and by means of which their whole body throughout the country was enabled to correspond and to co-operate with each other, whenever it was necessary to the promotion of their views. "Liberty!" was the fascinating cry, by which numbers of cunning and designing adventurers,

in every province, rendered themselves popular amongst the busy and unthinking multitude, and by the artful application of the term Aristocrat, which the people understood no better than the former, they contrived to cast a general odium upon all the officers, whose places they were anxious to occupy. The principal of these associations was that which received the appellation of "The Jacobins," (from the circumstance of their meeting in a hall which had belonged to a religious order called by that name) the members of which chose to discribe aristocracy as the essence of everything that was iniquitous and disgraceful; and, having implanted this idea in the public mind, they found no difficulty in hunting down every person whom they were desirous of displacing, by branding him with the title of Aristocrat.

Accounts arrived, every day, of the most horrid crimes being commited in all parts of the kingdom, which were suffered to continue for some time, without restraint from either the Court or the Assembly, both being influenced by the same base motive, a desire to attach all the odium to the other.

At this crisis the Clergy could not fail to see the inefficacy of their system, of directing the attention of the people to the ceremonies of religion, instead of its precepts; for no sooner were these people released from the shackles of despotic restraint, than they appeared to be evidently without any moral influence whatever. Forged letters, in the name of the National Assembly, and forged edicts, in the name of the King, were transmitted to different parts, calling upon the people to withhold the tythes, to destroy the palaces, and to burn the castles of their land-lords and their priests: such incitements were hardly wanting, for the insipid ceremonies of the church of Rome had abandoned the morals of the French to the guardianship of the bayonet, which being now no longer apprehended, all the effects of the evil passions, animosity and revenge began to appear, whilst ruin and desolation

spread throughout the kingdom; but particularly in Dauphiny, Burgundy, Britanny, and, Franché Compté, where the finest buildings were reduced to ashes.

Much as the royal family has been blamed by the partisans of liberty, and the people by the partisans of the royal family, for the ill effects of the Revolution, they are principally to be attributed to the jealousy of the National Assembly, which, with an egotism, not unfrequent in legislative bodies, would not suffer any other power to do the least good, for fear it should not be so well done as if accomplished by its own authority, as they pretended; but, in fact, for fear the people should discover any other object of praise: this is evident, from their conduct towards the electors, or new municipality of Paris, who evinced some desire to exercise what power they had acquired, for the purpose of repressing the sanguinary disposition of the mob.

Beside the victims already sacrificed, the blood of M. Benzeval was loudly called for; and the Parisian savages delighted in the hope of dragging his mangled corpse, as they had done those of Foulon and Berthier, in their barbarous processions. This gentleman had commanded the Swiss troops, and it was pretended, that he had written to M. de Launay, to defend the Bastille to the last, though no such letter was ever authenticated. M. Necker, who was greatly attached to this officer, wished to use the popularity he had acquired among the people to soften that resentment; and, upon paying his first visit to Paris, after his recal, he took occasion to implore the Municipality, above all things, to let their proceedings be guided by "goodness, mildness, and justice," and to pass a general amnesty, by which the errors of M. Benzeval, and every other misguided person, might be forgiven; that a final end might be put to those disgraceful scenes, a repetition of which, he declared, would render him incapable of longer serving the public."

The eloquence and argumentation of the Minister's

address produced such an effect on the magistrates, that they acceded to his request, with a generosity that, perhaps, might border a little upon impolicy; for, without recollecting that their authority was, as yet, no better defined than that of the King and the National Assembly, they dispatched orders to Villenaux, where M. Benzeval was confined, to set him at liberty. Necker, proud of the triumph which his virtuous endeavours had gained over the factious disturbers of the public peace, hastened to bear the joyful tidings to the King; but he had scarcely arrived at Versailles before every thing that had been done was counteracted!

The crowd assembled at the *Hotel de Ville* had loudly applauded the Minister's sentiments, and approved the act of oblivion by the most enthusiastic shouts; but the spirit of quibbling, which had taken possession of all description of people, shortly discovered, that the electors had not been appointed to the magistracy by any *written law*; and, therefore, that they had no authority to prevent the shedding of blood! The legions of tumultuous rabble, at whose call the Municipality had been formed, and who had hailed them as the guardians of liberty, so long as they were regarded as accomplices in the murders that were committed, now began to treat them as usurpers and conspirators, whose arrogance and presumption deserved the most summary punishment. They were treated as rebels who had put themselves in opposition to the national representatives; alarm bells were rung, to call all the people together, and preparations were made for besieging them in the townhouse: much less terrific means would have induced them to have repealed their decrees; and, accordingly, fresh couriers were dispatched to continue the arrest of M. Benzeval.

The National Assembly affected to receive this act of submission very graciously; yet, like their satellites amongst the mob, they could not forgive M. Necker, for

occasioning this instance of presumption: though their own proceedings proved how much they were convinced that such a measure was necessary.

From the 14th of July the attention of the National Assembly was principally directed to the formation of a new constitutional Code, until the 4th of August; when the alarming accounts, that arrived, from all parts of the country, obliged it to consider of the most effectual means of restoring tranquillity to the kingdom. A more important sitting never was held by any body of legislators than that which occupied the Assembly held on the evening of that day. The outrages which had been committed, in almost every village, were such as affected the interest and threatened the distruction of the whole body; and all the feelings of selfishness and patriotism, of fortitude and fear, united to make the sacrifices necessary to the public happiness.

A committee, which had been appointed to consult what was most proper to be done, proposed that an exhortation should be drawn up in the name of the Assembly and transmitted to all the people; but every one felt the insufficiency of such a measure, and several of the nobles and clergy stood forward to exonerate the people from any desire to promote any other disorders than such as were produced by their immediate distresses. "The people," said they, "labour under the double oppression of direct contributions and feudal duties; and, though there are few instances in which they can complain of their lords, yet the stewards, judges, gamekeepers, and agents, are mostly rigid and tyrannical. Now that the foundations of our oppressive government," said they, "are destroyed, it is necessary that the whole fabric should be overthrown. The claims of the peasantry must be satisfied, or they will naturally proceed to do that justice to themselves which alone can render the Revolution beneficial to them."

These sentiments were received with the loudest applauses from the spectators; and, after the most animated debates that ever gave an interest to any public proceedings, and which continued, with scarcely any intermission, till the evening of the 5th of August, when a decree of emancipation was passed, by which every class of the community received an equal claim to public justice, and was relieved from unequal contributions to the public burdens. To crown the whole proceedings, and to give an air of proper solemnity, the King was complimented with the flattering title of "Restorer of French Liberty!" and the deputation having waited upon him with the decrees, he invited the Assembly to accompany him to sing *Te Deum* upon the occasion.

The obstacles that had opposed themselves to the new constitution were now greatly reduced; for the decrees of the Assembly abolished feudal services and manorial jurisdictions as well as the game laws, with the exclusive rights of chase, of fishing, of freewarren, of dovehouses, and all those mischiefs which the peasantry had been obliged to suffer from the stags, boars, and other game, belonging to their privileged neighbours. The clergy were also forced to give up their tythes; after having, voluntarily, resigned their parochial fees, and resolved, in no case, to hold pluralities! It was, furthermore, decreed, That the nation should discontinue the contributions which it had hitherto paid to the Church of Rome; and every chartered right and special privilege, which divided France into separate provinces and corporations, was superseded by the concise declaration: "That France should, henceforth, only be inhabited by one people, who should be known by no other appellation than that of French Citizens."

The practical advantages of the Revolution might now have been enjoyed by every description of persons in France, if the several parties could have been, by any miracle, prevailed upon to have dealt frankly by each

other; but numbers of the nobles and clergy only acquiesced in the relinquishment of their privileges, with the view of recovering them at some convenient season; and the commons only professed to be satisfied, without any design to limit their demands upon the other orders, so long as they might retain anything to be robbed of! hence, though several severe decrees were passed to prevent the repetition of the disorders which had been so loudly complained of, the Assembly took no measures for carrying them into execution; and, when the proprietors of Macon armed themselves, to resist a plundering banditti, who had been laying their country waste, the Assembly interfered, in the name of liberty and humanity, to rescue the criminals from justice!

The civility which the Assembly had shewn the King in the late proceedings encouraged him to appoint a new ministry, in which he was so far fortunate, that his *masters* approved of his choice! yet the government was in no condition to proceed, for the old malady in the finances was yet unremedied.

An opportunity was again offered of saving the country, and was again destroyed, by the little passions of that *soi disant* august Assembly. M. Necker presented himself in their hall, as minister of the finances, and requested their sanction to a loan of thirty millions of livres, as a measure of indispensible necessity: and every motive of sound policy should have induced the members to have given the most unqualified assent to the proposal, in order to have secured that confidence from the monied interest which it was willing to give, and which the proceedings of the Assembly had at that time done nothing to shake; but this opportunity of humbling the Minister, as a punishment for the inadequate notions that he had appeared to entertain of their authority, by asking a favour of the Municipality of Paris, was too precious to be neglected, and therefore they declared their total want of confidence in him, by altering his plan, and proposing

other terms upon which they would have the loan contracted for.—The consequence, was, that they betrayed their *entire* ignorance of financial affairs, and the contractors would advance no loan upon any terms whatever.

"Public credit being now so far sunk, that even the Royal Family were obliged to send their plate and trinkets to be coined into cash, to pay the current expenses of their household; the Assembly seemed to be so well aware of the contempt to which their late conduct had reduced them, that they were anxious to adopt some measure that should reinstate them in the public favour, and they resorted to an expedient, which answered the end, merely because it was of so pitiful a nature, that it was exactly suited to the *make-shift patriotism* of those, who only think a government good, in proportion as it is cheap and grotesque. The state was to be immediately saved by a patriotic contribution, and the members began the farce in the Assembly, by suddenly dismantling their own dress, and presenting all their shoe-buckles, ear-rings, breast-pins, and other trinkets, as a contribution to the national treasury. Like other novelties this fashion became general, and such was the rage for patriotic offerings, that scarcely a pauper was to be found, who was not seized with the *mania* of presenting himself at the bar of the "*August Assembly*," as one of the saviours of the nation.

"One good effect of this general donation was, that when the amount came to be cast up, it fell so far short of what every one had expected, that it insensibly left the impression upon every one's mind, that something remained to be done, and paved the way for the Minister to propose the most bold and hardy measure, that perhaps ever was attempted, even in the most despotic states. This extraordinary proposal, compared with which, all the propositions to the ancient parliaments condensed, would have been moderation in the extreme, was nothing less, than that every man should be called upon to pay,

the *fourth* of his income, by instalments, in the course of three years, to the support of the state.

Violent and oppressive as this proceeding evidently was, it was adopted by that very body which had been assembled to correct the extravagance of the Court, when the King had required the loan of a few millions; but the patriots were now in power, and they had adopted a new doctrine, suited to the occasion. Their business now was, to stigmatize every one as an Aristocrat, or in other words, as an enemy to the state, who possessed sensibility enough to feel any inconvenience in the sacrifices, that the representatives of the people might call upon him to make; for "the whole was better than a part, and it was more desirable that individuals should be distressed than that the nation should perish."

Although this tax was smoothed down, with the appellation of a patriotic gift, and it was left to every person's own honour to state his income, the Assembly were by no means disposed to rely upon it as their only resource; they seemed to have taken it up as a kind of supplementary aid, to help the government on till they should have completed the constitution, but this work was greatly retarded by the different interest that prevailed in the legislative body.

Beside the Royalists and Republicans, whose views have been already suggested, there was a third party, still more base and hypocritical than either, because it was endeavouring to make instruments of both, for purposes too disgraceful to be avowed. To this faction, Mirabeau, and many of the professed republicans, belonged, and its only object was, to effect the overthrow of the reigning family, to place the Duke of Orleans, the King's cousin, upon the throne.—In discussing the constitution, therefore, each faction was desirous of rendering it subservient to his particular views, and such was the obstinacy, with which every principle was contended,

that it was not till the 3d of September, 1791, that it was ready to be laid before the King.

Among the subjects that occasioned the most violent contention, was the question for limiting the authority of the King. The Republicans and the mob were for reducing him to a cypher, for the mere purpose of affording an excuse to each other for deposing him as a useless appendage of the government; while the Aristocrats, and the friends of rational liberty, were desirous of allowing him a negative upon all proceedings of the legislature, in order to correct any violent or hasty measures that might occasionally pass. Such a veto being almost essential to the very style of King, the Orleans faction were as zealous for it as the avowed Royalits; and it was a singular artifice, that Mirabeau adopted, to conceal his real views from the mob of Paris, who considered him a staunch Republican, when, after delivering the most eloquent orations in the Assembly, in favour of the *Veto*, he withdrew before the question was put, that his name might not appear among the printed votes.

The contentions upon this subject ran so high, that the patriotic furies of Paris already imagined they saw the King re-possessed of all his prerogatives, and using them only to overthrow every appearance of liberty. Tales were circulated of state prisons re-building, and in three days they would never have another opportunity of consulting; in fine, the only means of saving the nation, was to march to Versailles, and bring the Royal Family prisoners to Paris. It was upon this occasion, that the Municipality of Paris, at the instigation of M. Baily, the Mayor, passed a very spirited decree, prohibiting tumultuous assemblies, and street lectures, which the Marquis la Fayette carried into execution with a degree of coolness and courage, that scarcely ever deserted him, during the trying crisis that he commanded the city guards. Several of the motion makers were committed to prison,

and the mobs were dispersed; yet, the National Assembly was so pusilanimous, as to suffer their debates to be interrupted by the hootings and howlings of the lowest rabble, in their own galleries.

These continual scenes of riot could not fail to become matter of the most serious alarm to the King, especially as the obstinacy of the mob, upon all occasions, triumphed over the ill-supported efforts that were exerted to subdue them; it was, therefore, no impolitic resolution that he adopted, of sending to the Assembly, to declare, that he had no wish to have the absolute veto, and suggested, that there might be no impropriety in admitting a suspensive veto, which should postpone laws during a first and second legislature, but which should be withdrawn, if a third legislature should vote for the law passing.

This modification was generally approved, but it did not secure his Majesty the least repose; for those cold-blooded calculating patriots had other purposes to serve, which induced them to grant him the prerogative, merely to betray him into their power.

THE END OF CHAP. VII.

CHAPTER VIII.

Mobs hired by the Factions....Feast at Versailles....Mirabeau's Abuse of the Queen....March of the Parisian Mobs to Versailles....They bring the Royal Family to Paris, after committing horrid Barbarities....Danger of the Royal Family....Abolition of the Gabelle, &c....Estates of the Church declared the Property of the State....Suppression of Monasteries....Issue of Assignats....Abolition of Nobility....Resentment of the privileged Orders....Distresses of the State....The Mob prevents the Royal Family spending the Holidays, at St. Cloud....The King complains of the Insult to the Assembly, without Redress....Coalition of the Emigrant French Princes and Nobles....The King disclaims all Connection with them.

THERE were yet two great objects of the Revolution that the demagogues had not ventured to bring forward; and as they were of a nature, not only to create a violent opposition throughout France, but also to excite the hostile interference of foreign powers, they could not be attempted till some pretence could be found for securing the Royal Family, in order to retain them as hostages, that might be offered up to popular vengeance in case of opposition.

Neither the Orleans faction, nor the faction of Levellers, could do without mobs and riotous assemblies; for, as they were smallest in number, they could only be mighty in noise. The immense property of the Duke was, therefore, partly devoted to increase the scarcity, that the discontents might increase in the same proportion; and, partly to feed the needy orators, who inflamed the populace against the King and Queen, as the authors of the general distress. These conventicles were constantly supplied with political pamphlets and inflammato-

ry hand-bills; and, among the fashionable speculations of the day, the people were taught to hope, that the "term Nobility would soon be banished from the French language," and that, if the national debt was large, the treasures of the church were great. No casuistry could misinterpret the design of these doctrines, but no attempt was made to suppress them, for they were anonymous; and, beside, they might evaporate, after having appalled the appetite of the rabble, which perpetually hungered after novelties.

The royal assent was about this time withheld, from a decree that had been laid before the King for his *veto*, and during this eventful period, the friends of the Court were unfortunate enough to afford the factious leaders an opportunity of exciting a considerable degree of agitation amongst their followers, by a feast that was given at Versailles, to the officers of a regiment newly arrived, at which, under the exhilarating influence of the bottle, they shewed a strong dislike of the conduct of the Revolution. To this entertainment, given by their life guards, consisting of the principal nobility and gentry, the King and Queen were prevailed upon to present the Dauphin, and the visit was received with such raptures of enthusiastic loyalty, that it is extremely probable some improper "words and actions" might have been witnessed, which the Loyalists themselves would not have approved in the moments of sobriety. No such allowances could, however, be admitted by the virtuous members of the Assembly :—the national cockade, *they said*, had been trodden under foot, and Mirabeau declared, that if the Assembly would pronounce, that the "King's person only was sacred," he would "accuse the Queen of encouraging those outrages."

The whole of this proceeding may have been impolitic and imprudent; but, when it is considered, that after the destruction of the Bastille, the Loyalists were reduced to

a condition which left them incapable of any measure, the policy, or impolicy of which could be determined by any criterion than that of its success; it is, perhaps, much to their credit that there are not *many* such imprudent steps to be laid to their charge. Those who are greatly fallen, are generally despised, if they sink under their burdens, without using their utmost endeavours to rise; and if, with powerful obstacles to encounter, and few advantages for their aid, they still increase their disappointments, those, at least, who would have censured their apathy, cannot load them with reproaches, without being guilty of the grossest illiberaltity.

Be this as it may, no reasoning of the sort could be heard among the clamours of the Revolution; myriads of the Parisians, consisting of all the fish-women, courtezans, and abandoned persons of both sexes, marshalled in bodies, and proceeded on the fourth day after the banquet, to the palace at Versailles, and in the most tumultuous, indecent, and horrid procession, that perhaps was ever witnessed in any age or country, brought the King and all his family prisoners to Paris. To enter into a description of this wicked and bloody enterprise would be a deviation from the design of this Work; but posterity may form some idea of its character, by being told, that the Queen was attacked in her bed-chamber, which was only defended by a single centinel, who had barely time to call out "Save the Queen, for I alone am here to defend her life against two thousand tigers!" when he was trampled under foot by the relentless cannibals. The streaming heads of two of the life guards, which the savages had cut off in their way, were carried on pikes before their Majesties coach, in order to give them every degree of pain that barbarous ingenuity could invent, and the wanton cry of "Give us bread!" was the insulting shout chosen to assail the ears of that Prince, whom they had been more than two years endeavouring to reduce to wretchedness and want.

It would be unjust to involve the friends of liberty in the guilt of those criminal transactions, otherwise than for their want of judgment in not having formed an early union with the Royalists, in order to subdue the rabble, after they found that the tyranny of the people was worse than that which they had overthrown, but even this mistake they, in a great measure, atoned for by their subsequent conduct and misfortunes.

Among the persons who most sensibly regretted the turn which affairs had now taken, were La Fayette, Mounier, and Lally Tolendal; the two latter of whom assembled their friends, and urged the inutility of any farther struggle, now that all the forms of justice were wholly overthrown, and the Assembly would be obliged to follow the King to Paris, where every man's life would be suspended as by a hair, and be held at the mercy not of beings, whom they could regard as their fellow-citizens, but of the sanguinary ruffians of that disgraceful and degraded city. Some very virtuous members thought that many opportunities might yet offer, by which they might contribute to the salvation of their country, if they continued at their post; but others adopted the sentiments of Mounier and Lally Tolendal, and, following their example, seceded from the Assembly.

The Royal Family could no longer regard themselves, or be looked upon in any other light than as splendid prisoners, reserved as victims ready to be sacrificed whenever occasion should require it; the Monarchy was therefore virtually destroyed; and, having crossed the rubicon, there was no necessity for halting any longer.

The pressing state of the finances was such as to allow very short intervals between one expedient and its successor, the Assembly therefore did not think proper to let the year 1789 pass over without putting the Minister in a condition to wind up his accounts, and if possible to satisfy the national creditor.

The first step that they took, and which was very like

throwing out a tub to the whale, was the abolition of a tax, which Louis the XVIth. had been anxious to abolish. This tax, known by the name of *Gabelle*, was a duty of nearly sixpence on a single pound of salt; and it was held by the people in so much abhorrence, that no measure could have been more popular, except the remission of a tobacco duty, which was taken off at the same time.

There is something so wonderfully soothing in acts of kindness, that savage beasts may sometimes be tamed by their means, and the Assembly knew that the *peuple souvereign* was an animal with whom so much management was necessary, that it was unwilling to approach his last retreat until having previously tamed him by a suitable boon. The people of France had always been greatly attached to their religion and their King. Their King was dethroned, but it was not acknowledged, and though to him the difference was indescribable, to the country in general it only appeared, that he was in the palace of the Thuilleries, instead of the palace of Versailles;—but could the church be overthrown, and the clergy despoiled without the people everywhere perceiving that their religion was in danger? and might not they regard this as an insult offered to the Deity, and resent the profanation of his sanctuary? Enquiries were made, the disposition of the people was sounded, and the Assembly learned, that the laity had no objection to share temporal as well as spiritual blessings with the clergy; and that, with very few exceptions, their faith would be equally lively, and their piety quite as sincere, if my Lord Bishop drank common claret, as if he quaffed *Lachryma Christi* all the year round. Possessed of this information, the leading party in the Assembly surprised all Europe, and even great part of their own colleagues, by a proposition to seize upon all the lands and revenues of the church, in order to pay off the national debts, and relieve the people from the burdens that pressed heavily upon them.

The business was brought forward on the last of October, but though the subject was of infinite importance to the clergy, as well as to all the principal families, being related to that body, the opposition to the proposal was of little effect, and a decree passed on the 2d of November, three days after it had been moved, by which all the ecclesiastical property in the kingdom was declared to be the property of the nation, and every minister of public worship was to receive his salary out of the public purse, like a clerk in an office! A measure, consequent upon this was, the suppression of monastic establishments; but it is highly creditable to the Assembly, that, in seizing those revenues, provision was made that as many of the resident nuns and friars as were disposed to continue, should have their stipends allowed them during their lives.

It is hardly possible to reflect upon this subject without the most pungent sorrow, that any body of men, so capable of calculating the *means* for the *end*, should not have been more temperate, than to have *driven* forth their immature reforms, before they had inclined the persons interested to receive them.

The plan of seizing the church lands had so much of wisdom in its composition, that it was of itself sufficient to secure a revolution ten times more tremendous than what had been already effected; for it instantly became the trading stock of the government—a bank that might be considered inexhaustible; and to give the monied interest a motive for sanctioning the measure, a new kind of paper money was issued by the Assembly upon the credit of this property. The drafts so given were called assignats, and the property itself, as well as all kinds of wealth, that was seized or forfeited to the state, was called national domains. The creditors of the state received payment in assignats or drafts upon the national domains, so that the enormous debts of the country, in a great measure, guaranteed an immense army for the de-

fence of the Revolution; for, by its establishments, the nation would find purchasers for her domains, and be able to pay her drafts: but, if the ancient order of things were to be restored, the public creditor would be as ill off as he had formerly been.

Having ventured upon this, by far the most hazardous of all their measures, the Assembly made no difficulty of abolishing the *whole order* of Nobility, at a single sitting, by a laconic decree, that henceforth there should be *no distinction of orders in France.*

The enemies of the Revolution now began openly to declare themselves, but it was already too late, the Assembly possessed a fund sufficient to bribe more emissaries, and to fit out more expeditions than all the princes in Europe; and good policy should have induced every Frenchman, to have submitted to the new state of things with the best possible grace, to have endeavoured to diminish the evils by the restoration of order.

Both the Nobles and Clergy felt their losses more acutely than they ought to have done; for, in fact, the salaries of the Clergy, as settled by the legislature, were far from illiberal; and, as to the Nobles, they should have seen, that a very few years of peace would have made the demagogues themselves emulous of restoring distinctive badges, for the sake of maintaining their own rank. Resentment alone, however, now seemed to fire the bosoms of those classes; and as some of the German Princes were equally offended at the indecorous manner in which the Assembly had disposed of their feudal rights in France, without compensation, although secured by solemn treaties, conventions were entered into between all those discontented classes, and every thing indicated the approach of a violent contest.

Emigrations became so numerous, in consequence of the dangers which seemed advancing, that above six thousand landed estates were advertised for public sale, for which no purchasers could be found; and so much

property had been withdrawn to foreign countries, that the demand for some of the principal articles of manufacture was sensibly diminished, insomuch, that some of the trading cities were shortly ruined, and the labouring people reduced to beggary.

To dwell upon the disorganized state of the army, of the colonies, or of the provinces, would be trifling, the whole country, and all its dependencies, of every kind, were thrown into one general state of disorder, and no occurrence that happened from hence, until the passing the constitutional act, differed materially from those already related, except the flight of the Royal Family.

After the King had been conveyed to Paris, the conduct of the Assembly towards him had been a mixture of insolence and respect; they had evinced a determination not to let him exercise his prerogative of the *Veto*, and yet affected to consider his assent as absolutely necessary to the laws; so that, after a variety of threats and expostulations, he was forced to appear in the Assembly, and profess his determination to support the new order of things.

Among other idle and unnecessary precautions, that the cowardly fears of the Assembly induced it to take, an oath was imposed upon the Clergy, by which they were commanded to signify their assent to the spoliation of the church, although at variance with the whole system of their education and habits. Most of the conscientious men amongst the Clergy refused to take this iniquitous oath, and, as was perfectly natural, many of these persons attached themselves to the King, as suffering with them under the same wanton persecution. Circumstanced as the Royal Family was, *no measures whatever*, that it might have thought proper to adopt, with a view to recover its liberty, could have merited the least censure; and if it had formed cabals, both within and without the realm, to raise an effective force for that purpose, it was only exercising a right which every prisoner has, to escape,

if he can. There was no proof that the King took any such steps, but the simple circumstance of his having a right, led his unprincipled gaolers to insinuate that he did do it, and he was constantly watched, and hunted about from walk to walk, like the chief of a conspiracy.

Whether the King was disposed to prove to the whole country, that he was really a prisoner, or that he designed nothing more than to ascertain the length of his chain, cannot be determined; but, on the 18th of April, 1791, he took the resolution to ride with his family to St. Cloud, a palace at a short distance, in order to spend the Easter holidays. The journey was hardly commenced, when the Royal Travellers were arrested by the mob. The soldiers joined in the outrage, upon the pretence, that they considered their country in danger, and the breach of the law was a matter of no consequence, when their suspicions were so strong.

An insult of such a glaring and unprovoked nature, could not fail to rouse the indignation of the most patient of sufferers, and the King repaired to the Assembly, on the following day, to complain of his grievance. The Assembly heard the complaint with apparent respect, and tacitly censured the proceeding, by passing a decree to authorize a prosecution of the journey, but not a word was said about punishing the officious wretches who had usurped the power of the magistracy; for that assembly of contemptible drivellers had not sufficient confidence in themselves to avow a single opinion, that was not likely to meet the approbation of every bawling ragamuffin that patroled the dunghils of Paris.

This event was so far important, as it occured at a period when the Emigrant Princes were collecting their followers together, to attack the Revolutionists, with a view to restore the ancient despotism, and it led the King to think, that his own reputation required him to disavow any participation in those hostile preparations; he therefore lost no time in notifying to all foreign Courts that

he had assented to the new order of things, and " that he and the National Assembly were united together by the most sacred obligations."

It was not very easy to admit the sincerity of declarations, made under such evident restraints, and the Emigrants evinced no disposition to pay them the least attention; they were quite as haughty on their side as the Assembly was on the other, and their incapacity for business led them to imagine, that they could secure the inviolability of the King, by their idle threats.

THE END OF CHAP. VIII.

CHAPTER IX.

The Patriots' Jealousy of the King....Desperate Situation of the Royal Cause....King and his Family leave Paris privately....Alarm on his Absence being discovered....Decrees in the National Assembly thereon....The Royal Family detained at Varennes, and brought from thence to Paris ....The King and Queen declare their Reasons....Monsieur escapes....The King accepts the Constitution....Decrees of the National Assembly....The Princes invited to return, but they haughtily refuse....Dissolution of the National Assembly....The King's Popularity....Character of the New Assembly....Foolish Conduct of the Emigrants productive of great Injury to the King.

IT is a misfortune peculiar to a season of public commotion, that the persons chiefly concerned are deterred from explaining their views with a becoming candour, owing to the frequent changes of sentiment, and various instances of treachery that happen at those periods; and it was the peculiar unhappiness of Louis XVI. that no person, avowedly his friend, would have been suffered to attend him, and those who were suffered, might, for any thing he knew, be all spies, paced there to watch his indiscretions, and even to misconstrue them to his disadvantage.

The King knew that the object of his brothers was to restore the monarchy, with its unlimited power, and he knew equally well, that the objects of the patriotic factious was to seek a fair pretence of overthrowing the last fragments of the Monarchy altogether; whichever of the parties might succeed was to him of less consequence than any other person; for there could be little doubt but the commencement of the struggle would be a signal for offering him up as its victim. He therefore had every inducement to wish for the establishment of a rational

form of government, as the best mode of reconciling the contending parties, and, perhaps, the only way left for the Emigrants to promote his true interests would have been to have given implicit credit to his declarations. His distance from his brothers, who were not within reach of the enemies of the Monarchy, precluded him from asking them to abandon an object, in which their birth-right was involved, and the increasing frenzy of the National Assembly forbade him to expect anything like a more moderate course from thence. Surrounded thus by evils on every side, where is the reptile, where is the philosopher, that would not have sought a place of safety? No people put the inconsiderate French, nor even they, if they had not been long abandoned to the most immoral and inhuman excesses, would have been surprised that the Royal Family had escaped from Paris, much less have attributed it to the worst of all possible motives.

On the 21st of June, 1791, when the commandant of the castle of the Thuilleries went to the King's apartments, to see if his Majesty was stirring, he was met by one of the household, who informed him, that neither the King, Queen, Dauphin, nor the Princess Elizabeth, were to be found; the news was generally known about nine in the morning, and Paris became in the greatest confusion.

The National Assembly met early, and the President communicated the intelligence, upon which M. Montmorin, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, was ordered under arrest, upon suspicion of his having assisted the escape of the family.

Alarms were immediately spread, that the King was gone to put himself at the head of an army, to invade his people, and preparations commenced for putting the frontiers in a state of defence. Couriers were dispatched to all the departments, with orders to arrest all persons who should attempt to quit the kingdom, and to seize all

property, of whatever kind that might be found crossing the frontiers. Very severe decrees were passed against all persons who had assisted in rescuing the King, and an address was prepared, to assure the country at large, that the Assembly would maintain their posts with firmness and energy.

Two days had been spent in fruitless conjecture, without any discovery being made as to the circumstance of the departure, or the road the family had taken, when a messenger arrived at the Assembly, with tidings that the Royal Family had been arrested at Varennes, and were detained in custody there, till the orders of the representatives of the people should be known.

The re-possession of their *humbled captives* was such a triumphant affair, that the representatives of the nation thought it worth while to have the chief instrument of it brought before them, in full procession, by a deputation of the Municipality of Paris. The witness began his recital by stating, that his name was Drouet, that he had formerly been a dragoon in the regiment of Condé, but was actually postmaster of St. Menehoud.

On the 21st of June, at half past seven in the evening, two carriages, and eleven horses, stopped to bait at his house. He thought he recognized the Queen, and, perceiving a man at the back part of the carriage, his curiosity had led him to examine him closely, when the resemblance of the countenance with the effigy of the King, on an assignat of fifty livres, was so apparent, that he had no doubt.

These carriages were conducted by a detachment of dragoons, which succeeded a detachment of hussars, under pretence of protecting treasure. The escort excited his particular suspicion; but, being alone, and therefore fearing to excite a premature alarm, he suffered the carriages to depart, and then, hastening to the next stage by a cross-road, arrived before them, and had the national guard called out, to stop their carriages.

Three Commissioners were appointed to escort the prisoners to Paris, and, among the few creditable things that the Assembly did, in the course of their session, it ought not to be forgotten, that they took every proper precaution, upon this occasion, to prevent their Majesties being exposed to the brutal attack of the cowardly Parisians.

When measures had been adopted for guarding the palace with greater strictness, a commission was appointed to examine the Royal Fugitives, as to the motives of their flight, upon which the King declared, that he was very far from desiring to conceal them.

"My reasons for undertaking the journey," said the King, "arose from the outrages to which I and my family have been constantly exposed, not only on the 18th of April, but subsequent to that period, which led me to judge, that I could not with safety continue in Paris, where every branch of my house, but particularly the Queen, was daily insulted by the most indecent and inflammatory writings, the authors of which were wholly unpunished. I chose to quit it at midnight, to avoid interruption, but I had no intention of passing the frontiers. I had chosen to reside a short time at Montmedy, because, being a fortified place, I could have been visited by my family without molestation. On the day of my departure I addressed a protestation to the Assembly; beside the complaints therein I have made no others, and these are not against the principles of the Constitution, but upon the deficiency of that freedom which I ought to enjoy, and upon the administrative powers being too weak. I complain that the internal administration of the departments is embarrassed by wheels which obstruct the motion of the machine, and the superintendence of Ministers is reduced to nothing. Defective as I consider this Constitution, I certainly did not conceive, while I continued at Paris, that the public opinion could be greatly in its favour; but on the road, and dur-

ing my journey, I became sensible that I was mistaken, and, in consequence of my inquiries, and the elucidation resulting from them, conviction has flashed upon my mind, that the people approve it decidedly; and no other motive do I require, to induce me willingly to sacrifice all my personal interest to the welfare of my people, and to forget all the unpleasant circumstances that I have experienced, to secure the peace and happiness of the nation."

The vindication of the Queen was simple and natural; she declared, that "as the King had determined to remove himself and family, it was impossible that she could admit the thought of separating from him and her children," and both added to their declaration, that their attendants were "ignorant of their destination, till they received their orders to depart."

The King's return to the capital made no alteration in the proceedings of the Emigrant Princes, whose number was now strengthened by the addition of *Monsieur*, who, having quited Paris at the same time as the King, had fortunately escaped, by taking another road; but, as it was reported that troops were raising in his Majesty's name, he thought proper to disavow any participation in their project, by a letter to the National Assembly.

Of the sincerity of the King's profession, posterity will not entertain the shadow of a doubt, when, upon reviewing the train of events that have followed, it shall appear not only that the measures he recommended, were precisely those that were the best calculated to save the country, and rescue it from the ravages which devoured it, but that, until those very measures *were* adopted, no succeeding government was able to restore the public order.

When the Assembly had completed the Constitution, it was presented to the King, for his acceptance; and, though a simple AYE or No would have been a sufficient answer upon the occasion, the King not only accepted it

as it stood, but entered into the merits of it as a man of business, who did not merely put his signature to a scroll that he held in contempt, but who pointed out deficiencies, because he was desirous of seeing those parts which he approved, accompanied by others which should be worthy of them.

After declaring various reasons, that had induced him to desire a reform of abuses, which he had discovered shortly after the commencement of his reign, he concludes his Address with the following manly and paternal observation, for the consideration of the Assembly:

"I accept then the Constitution; I engage to maintain it at home, to defend it against attacks from abroad, and to cause it to be executed by all the means which it puts into my power. I should, however, conceal the truth, if I were not to say, that I do not perceive in it all the energy necessary to give motion, and preserve the unity of so vast an empire; but, since opinions are divided upon these subjects, I consent that the question shall be left to the test of my experience alone. While I shall faithfully employ all the means that are entrusted to me, no reproach can be laid on me; and the nation, whose interest alone ought to be the supreme rule, will explain itself by those means which the Constitution has reserved to it.

"But, gentlemen, for the security of liberty, for the stability of the constitution, for the individual happiness of all Frenchmen, there are interests, in which an imperious duty prescribes to us to combine all our efforts; these interests are, respect for the laws, the re-establishment of order, and the re-union of all the citizens. Now that the Constitution is definitively settled, Frenchmen, living under the same laws, ought to have no enemies but those who infringe them. Discord and anarchy, these are our common enemies, I will oppose them with all my power; it is necessary that you and your successors second me with energy, that the law may equally protect

all those who submit their conduct to it—that all those whom the fears of persecution, and trouble have driven from their country, may be assured of finding, at their return, safety and tranquillity. To extinguish the animosities, to soften the evils, which a great revolution always brings in its train, let us, from this day, consent to an oblivion of all that is past—let those accusations and prosecutions, which originate solely from the events of the Revolution, be for ever extinguished by a general amnesty. I speak not of those who have been solely influenced by their attachment to me.—Can you regard them as criminals? As to those, who, by personal injuries, have brought upon themselves the prosecution of the laws, I shall prove in my conduct to them, that I am the King of *all* the French.

(Signed) "Louis.

P. S.—"I was of opinion, Gentlemen, that I ought to pronounce my solemn acceptance of the Constitution in the very place in which it was formed; in consequence, I shall come, in person, to-morrow, at noon, to the National Assembly."

Nothing could have been more seasonble and appropriate than the Address, and it was received by the Assembly, as if that body had recovered a proper sense of the decorum necessary to be observed towards the chief Magistrate of a great people. The reading was followed by the most lively and enthusiastic plaudits, and the shouts of "Long live the King," were as general and as loud as in the most splendid times of the monarchy. Scarcely had the fit of intoxication ceased, when the Assembly decreed, on the motion of M. la Fayette, that all persons under arrest should be immediately released—that all prosecutions carried on against persons for acts committed in consequence of the Revolution, should be immediately superseded—that passports should be no longer necessary to enable French citizens to enter or go out of the kingdom, and that a deputation of sixty mem-

bers should wait upon the King with the decree, and express the happiness which his acceptance of the Constitution had diffused.

As a natural consequence of those conciliatory steps, the Assembly dispatched an embassy to the Emigrant Princes, with an invitation to return to their country, where they should freely enjoy all the blessings of the Constitution, and to assure them, that they should be protected from every outrage by the legislative body. Happy would it have been for the world, if those *devotees of royal authority* had possessed loyalty enough to have obeyed the example of the august head of their house; but, unhappily, the mania of turbulence and faction had seized as firmly hold of them as it had of the most frantic Jacobins, and, therefore, in the same spirit, if not in the exact words of the CUT-THROATS of the *Palais Royal*, they resolved to submit to no order, and to obey no law, but—THEIR OWN WILL. It is even said, that their *hauteur* was so excessive and unwarrantable, that they imprisoned the messenger, M. Duveyrier, for presuming to approach them with the offer—an arrogant and unnecessary abuse of power, which not only degraded them to a level with the vindictive rabble of Paris, but served to rekindle the expiring flames of resentment, which afterwards burst forth with greater violence than ever.

A more important period never occurred in the annals of mankind than the moment of which we are speaking. It was not merely a privilege—a territory—a crown, or a succession, but the subversion of the rights, the thrones, and the most ancient empires, of Europe, that depended upon the rejection or acceptance of a single proposal. The labours of the Assembly had, in fact, closed when the Constitution was completed, and they were to be succeeded by a body of men entirely new; for they had decreed that not one of their own members should be rechosen. The character of the new Assembly might be

governed by the conduct of the Princes, for if they should evince a spirit of moderation, moderate men might predominate in the elections, but if discord were likely to continue, the turbulent and boisterous only would appear either as candidates or electors.

Hopes of this kind were not of long duration; it soon became known throughout all France, that the resentment of the Emigrants was inextinguishable; and that a coalition was forming amongst the principal sovereigns of Europe, to aid them with powerful armies, for the purpose of punishing all those who were friendly to the Revolution.

Under these unfavourable circumstances, the elections concluded. The old, (or as it was called, the constituent) Assembly, dissolved itself upon the body of new legislators taking possession of the hall, on the 30th of September, 1791; and, in giving up their records, communicated the pleasing intelligence to their successors, that they left a surplus of thirty-five millions in the national treasury, of which eighteen millions were in specie.

The King had at this time certainly gained much popularity, and the public fury had greatly abated; for, upon his entering the hall, at the dissolution of the Assembly, the members ordered that no chair should be seated by his, except that of their President, and they even condescended to stand and remain uncovered while his Majesty delivered his speech, contrary to their rude practices upon former occasions. Nor was the Assembly singular in these civilities, for their Majesties not only ventured abroad without meeting with insult, but were greeted by various testimonies of returning loyalty on these occasions.

But these prognostics afforded very little hope, when the enlightened and intelligent part of the world saw what description of men the new Assembly was composed of. The number of members for the eighty-three departments, into which France was then divided, was

745, and of this number only 48 of them possessed incomes exceeding one hundred pounds per annum; the respectable part of the country having avoided a situation, in which they could hardly subdue the vindictive spirit of *one* party, without inclining the balance in favour of *another* equally revengeful. Thus the legislative body was composed of pamphleteers, lawyers, adventurers, and vagabonds, who very soon proved that they had no objection to make themselves better known, by surpassing their predecessors in the confusion that they occasioned.

Having finished the routine necessary to their formation, a deputation of sixty members was appointed to acquaint the King that they were about to proceed to business, and, upon being admitted to his Majesty, M. Ducastel, their orator, said, "Sire! the National Assembly is definitively constituted; it has deputed us to inform your Majesty of it." Dry, insipid, and disrespectful as this laconic address was, the author of it did not fail to meet with a reprimand, on his return to the Assembly, for using *such servile* expressions as "Sire" and "Majesty."

Frivolous and contemptible as posterity must consider a legislative body, which could waste its time upon such trifles, at a moment when every frontier was menaced by legions of threatening foes; and whilst the administration, the commerce, and the army of their own country was crumbling to ruins, the conduct of the hostile courts was not less ridiculous. Instead of marching an army with that promptitude which might have enabled them to have accomplished the designs which it is now proved that they entertained, they vapoured about in drawing-rooms and assemblies, and dissipated all their strength by inuendos and declarations. In this sentimental warfare, they injudiciously hurled down a gratuitous degree of odium upon the King, by representing him as the chief object of their solicitude; when, according to every principle of sound policy, they ought to have given full

credit to his repeated declarations, and considered him and the Assembly as one. An instance of this levity, which was first noticed by the Jacobins, was in a dispatch from Prince Kaunits, the Emperor's chancellor, in answer to a remonstrance which the French Minister had presented against the hostile preparations in Germany, wherein that Court disavowed any desire to attack France, and declared that the coalesced sovereigns had united chiefly "to support the honour of crowns."

A correspondence of two years had cemented a union amongst all the clubs in France, which rendered it easy for any opinion to be propagated, and an unity of action to be effected throughout that vast empire in a few days; and the zealous Republicans availed themselves of this opportunity to inform the whole country, that it was about to be plunged into a most destructive and bloody war, of which the royal family, if not the sole cause, was *alone the object.*

This truth was irresistible, and no effort of malice was requisite, after its admission, to withdraw the affection of every *unenlightened* Frenchman from all the branches of the family; for it is only the perfectly cultivated mind, endowed with the most refined sensibility, that can regard the objects of any great calamity with complacence, or imagine the purely virtuous to be pursued by constant misfortune.

THE END OF CHAP. IX.

CHAPTER X.

Honourable Conduct of the King and Queen....State of Parties and Opinions....Religion and Philosophy....Outlawry of the Princes and the other Emigrants, to which the King refuses his Veto....Turbulence of the Factions....Mobs address the Assembly, who vote them the Honours of their Sittings....The ridiculous Procession of Anacharsis Clootz.... Ill Management of the combined Powers....Alacrity of the Jacobins....French Army amounts to Two Millions....War declared against the Emperor of Germany as King of Bohemia....Shameful Retreat of the French in their first Action, under General Dillon, who is murdered by his own Soldiers....Austrian Prisoners Murdered....Insults offered to the King by Brissot and Condorcet....Distrust among the Parties....Character of the Republicans....Infamous Decrees of the Assembly....Brutality of the Parisians to the Royal Family, and the treacherous Conduct of the Assembly....A new Ministry, the Friends of La Fayette....Determination of the Factions to destroy the Monarchy and Liberty together....Hypocrisy of the Brissotines.

THE conduct of the King and Queen was of that virtuous and honourable kind that every *real* friend of liberty must have approved; but it was the misfortune of France to have fallen under the government of a set of canting hypocrites, who were any thing and every thing but what they professed to be, and who knew nothing more of patriotism than the proper opportunities upon which they might venture the usurpation of its name. These men chiefly consisted of determined Republicans, for the few men of honour who had *conscientiously* sworn to maintain the constitution were too insignificant in point of numbers to produce any influence on public affairs) and these perfectionists were divided into several

sects; so that, whilst they were all intriguing to undermine the reputation of the King, they were all engaged in an underplot to destroy the popularity of each other.

The strife and contention that now agitated all France were indescribable, for a population of twenty five millions of persons were called upon to assent to a proposition, which the proponents themselves defined so differently, that no man was certain, when he assented to the abstract principle, whether he should not lose his head for admitting its consequences. The members of the National Assembly were mostly members of the political clubs, and each encouraged his partisans to attend the debates in the legislative hall, for the purpose of giving *eclat* to his own particular doctrines; but some of them forgot that their notions were of so abstruse and metaphysical a nature, that their nice distinctions would be overlooked in the crowd, and that their tendency would only be to overthrow their own as well as the royal authority.

Among those who directed their attention to the establishment of a Republic, one party had convinced itself by ratiocination, that "no other form of government could admit of the smallest degree of happiness to a nation; but, as the folly of their predecessors had embarrassed the constitution with a monarch, the national faith was pledged to preserve its loyalty, *unless* he should, by any misconduct of his own, violate his part of the compact." A second party only differed from this so far, as to deny "the right of their predecessors to bind them to any such engagements, that, consequently, that they were at full liberty, whenever they pleased, to re-model the government according to their own fancies." A third party went a much shorter way to work, and, without troubling themselves about the right or the wrong of the thing, shortly determined that they would effect the change, simply because the change would make them as great men as others; but these again were split into

subordinate factions, by the unlucky accident, of some amongst them being such blockheads, that they had not foreseen, in assenting to this dogma, that it necessarily committed them to co-operate with their more enlightened compatriots in "cutting off sixty thousand heads!"

It will not be very surprising that an unrestrained people should have coolly contemplated such excesses, when it is recollected, that both the religion and the philosophy of France, at that time, were of the very worst possible kinds; the former consisting entirely of outward ceremonies, the observance of which was taken at once as the obedience of the most hypocritical and profane and as the atonement of the most abominable and abandoned, whilst the latter was nothing more than a consummate ungodliness, which consisted in persecuting every action that was dictated by the conscience, and which was as different from philosophy or atheism as the mockery of the priests was from true religion.

The first signal for plunging the country into a new series of troubles was, a decree of outlawry against the King's Brothers and the other emigrants. His Majesty had not abandoned the hope of inducing the Princes to listen to reason, and he refused his *veto* to the decree, with a design to issue a proclamation, which he hoped would answer the purpose in a less offensive manner. Less notice was taken of this exercise of the *veto* than formerly, in the case of the Clergy; for, as the patriots were now resolved to put the last hand to their work, it was not worth while to notice particular actions, when, by a malignant construction of the whole together, they were in hopes of being able to make out a complete bill of indictment against the entire monarchy.

The lower classes were not capable of so much management, the prerogative of the sovereign was at variance with the prerogatives and with the sovereignty of the mob, and all the public places became as much frequented as ever by orators and crowds, to whom squibs were

constantly on delivery, to promote the views of the several factions, and many of which never spoke of the King in any other style than as Mr. VETO!

It became now very common for mobs to parade tumultuously to the Assembly, and interrupt the business, upon pretence of offering addresses and giving advice, and these tatterdemallions were invited to the honours of the sitting by whole legions at a time!

No limits seemed to be known at which the extravagant notions and practices of the people ought to stop: a Prussian refugee, in a fit of madness, took it into his head to attire in theatrical dresses a motley group, consisting of vagabonds, whom he hired for the purpose, and of patriots, whose brains were seething with republican fury, and had the audacity to introduce them to the Assembly, as ambassadors from the oppressed people of different nations, who had appointed him their orator, and demanded the interference of the nation to aid them in throwing off the yoke of their tyrant. "Let us march," said this enthusiast, "at the head of two millions of men, we will, plant the tree of liberty everywhere, and deliver twenty nations from the fangs of despotism." Rulers, who could be betrayed to listen to such a farrago, could only look upon government as a plaything; but this Assembly thought it an "honour to have received the homage" of these rodomontade opinions, and accordingly invited their grotesque visitors to the "honours of the sitting."

After such follies, it is less surprising that this Assembly accustomed the common people of France to a greater degree of licentiousness, and initiated them in the practice of a greater number of crimes than ever were practised by any people, under any circumstances before, than it is that they were capable of adopting any of the means by which the entire ruin of a nation is prevented.

The tardiness and *want* of combination amongst the combined powers, afforded an opportunity of preparing

for the war, and the Jacobins exerted themselves, to stimulate their partisans to enter the army, in which they were so successful, that full two millions of fighting men were ready to march, whenever their leaders were disposed to conduct them to the field of battle; and as considerable bodies of troops continued to menace the frontiers, notwithstanding the pacific declarations of some neighbouring courts, in answer to the remonstrances, the Assembly urged his Majesty to make vigorous preparations for war, and large armies were collected accordingly.

The Assembly were not such raw politicians as to forget how much the effects of a well-drawn manifesto might be frustrated, if they should commence the attack, before they had involved the dispute in so much doubt as to make it a matter of controversy who were the original aggressors. Preliminary negociations were therefore opened, and the necessary charges and recriminations on both sides exchanged, when each party having persuaded itself that it had found a decent excuse for commencing hostilities, the Assembly declared war against the Emperor, as King of Bohemia and Hungary, on the 20th of April, 1792.

After the spirit of insubordination and licentiousness, which we have seen pervading all ranks, and particularly the troops, it is surprising how any officer could be willing to trust himself in the field at the head of such mutinous hordes; perhaps some acted from the necessity of either obeying orders, or of being punished as deserters; others, relying upon their own patriotism, and the purity of their intentions, might bid defiance to the malice of calumny, and others might assume commands with a view to co-operate with the invading armies in restoring the internal peace of their country.

Whichever of those motives may have influenced General Dillon, the first officer who marched to attack the

enemy, will, perhaps, never be known; for, having marched out of Lisle on the 28th of April, at the head of 3,000 men, with a design to attack Tournay, he was opposed by the Austrian general, Happencourti and a body of nine hundred Austrians, who no sooner appeared than the inconsiderate rioters acted as if their enemies could not possibly be prepared for them without having been made acquainted with their plans, and an universal cry of "Treason!" impelled the whole body to a precipitate and shameful retreat, in which they abandoned all their artillery and baggage. The General, who did every thing to rally his discomfited followers, had scarcely re-entered Lisle, when the cowardly wretches surrounded him, and instantly pierced his body with a thousand bayonets; and, to aggravate their crimes, they not only hung a priest and an officer of artillery, without provocation, but they took the whole of the Austrian prisoners, whom they had captured, and hung them up with the same lawless barbarity.

Several powerful armies were stationed on the different frontiers, the generals and officers of which were all assailed as aristocrats, and constantly exposed to be butchered in the same mutinous way, while the King and his ministers, surrounded by persons of the same description at home, were publicly insulted by them as traitors, who by fair appearances, were betraying the country to the enemy. One of the members of the Assembly, who took the lead amongst the most base and insidious of all the factions, except that of the Duke of Orleans, M. Brissot, had the audacity to give authority to the accusation, by accusing the King, in a newspaper, which he himself published, and his example was sufficient to encourage one of his followers, Condorcet, to write a threatening letter to the King, grounded upon his own ignorant suspicions and surmises.

It was at this moment that the jealousies and suspicions, incident to a state of violent contentions, operated more

fatally upon all the persons who indulged them than all the evils together, of which they were apprehensive, could possibly have done, if they had had the courage to have faced them boldly.

Should the virtuous part of mankind derive no other benefit from the French Revolution, it will certainly teach them these very important lessons: that cowardice and indecision are by no means the surest way to safety; that a bold and decided conduct is the best way of encouraging the determined and active co-operation of friends; and that there is so much more honour in miscarrying by treachery than by timidity, that a man should prefer an open and frank avowal of his views to a chance of failing of his end by their concealment.

Most of the generals, ministers, and leading persons in office at this time, though really friends to the Revolution, were deeply afflicted at the excesses into which it was daily leading the people, and were equally anxious of directing their official powers to the preservation of the monarchy and the punishment of those who were using every effort to undermine the constitution. But it is an extraordinary proof of the danger in which every one found himself placed, that, though they were all using their individual efforts to the same end, those efforts, combined, led to their general defeat; for as each regarded the other as an enemy, they counteracted each other with as much zeal as they did their real enemies, and, consequently, all their labours ended in mere disappointment and they helped to destroy each other; whereas, had they been frank, courageous, and generous enough to have risked a small share of confidence in each other, the persons who have since entered their public protests against the factions, might, by a judicious combination of the powers they then held, have prevented the accomplishment of those wicked transactions, which, at present, they uselessly deplore.

After the commencement of the war the post of govern-

ment was so completely the post of danger, that those only considered themselves safe who could find some pretence of retiring; and, such was the unhappy spirit of licentiousness that prevailed, that those who retired and those who succeeded were alike subject to indiscriminate and unqualified abuse, as if the very act of serving the public constituted a traitor, or that the *quintessence* of all liberty consisted in abusing and insulting the government, be its conduct what it might.

In consequence of those repeated changes, the administration fell, at last, into the hands of the different factions, who soon began to feel so much official importance, that they acquired an additional motive for hastening towards a republic. The leading principle of a Republican, by which every article of his belief, and every action of his life is dictated, is self-love, and, under the influence of this sordid impulse, the different factions were constantly distracted by envy and hatred of each other, according as they succeeded to their ill-gotten power; but, as soon as they attained their objects, the gnawings of envy were superseded by the devourings of pride; for then they could not transact business with the Monarch without seeming to acknowledge a superior, and the principle of self-love will not submit to such a concession. Hence, as soon as these creatures got into the ministry, they set every engine at work to preach the natural equality of man, and to shew that the existence of the monarchy was incompatible with the enlightened state of the *fish-women* and puppet show people of France, and that those *sages* ought to assume for themselves the title of "*Sovereign People*!"

That no time might be lost, the Assembly hastened to pass such rash and intemperate decrees as they knew the King could not sanction, with a view to irritate the rioters against him for the exercise of his *veto*; and, among others, their refined policy led them to pass a decree, that the King should dismiss a corps of Swiss guards, which

did duty at the palace, for his protection. As they foresaw, the King refused his assent, and he was immediately charged with keeping a guard to fight aginst the liberties of the people; and those unprincipled beings, in the form of men, acted precisely as if the family of the Sovereign was the only one in the kingdom that should be wholly unprotected.

The King had been deprived of his body-guards by the Constituent Assembly; and, after that, and the numerous sacrifices he had made to soften the enmity of his persecutors, some of his friends advised him to part with these foreign troops, especially as a few companies of them were to do duty with the National Guard, which was to receive charge of the Palace. It is probable, that an adherence to his first resolution, would not have been of the smallest advantage to his Majesty's family; but it is certain, that his compliance with the clamour of the rebels, did not procure it a single hour's tranquillity, for reports were circulated with such an astonishing rapidity, that the most cautious and prudent were forced into the streets, to swell the riotous assemblies, by dint of mere alarm, and the Palace was constantly surrounded by [illegible], waiting to seize some of the household, whom they took a brutal delight in ducking in the adjoining water. Upon one of these occasions, the Queen happening to be at a window, to breathe the fresh air, she was particularly affected at seeing a priest, and an old officer, dragged along by the unfeeling monsters, for no other reason but because they were suspected of being Aristocrats; and her sensibility being regarded as a libel upon the liberties of the people, a *cannonier* of the *national* guard, after addressing her in language of the grossest outrage, added, "that he hoped one day to have the pleasure of carrying her head upon his pike."

War had now been declared against France by the Emperor, the King of Prussia, and many of the small states of Germany, and some skirmishes had taken place,

in which the French had been mostly unsuccessful, so that popular fury received new food every day.

That they might derive more advantage from these insurrections than mere clamour, the leaders had induced the first Assembly to appoint certain periods for the celebration of what they styled National Fetes, and of these the most important was, the farce exhibited on the 14th of July, to commemorate the destruction of the Bastille. A few weeks was of much consequence to them this year, and, therefore, to prevent their riot being thrown too far back in the season, it was resolved, that the event of the *Tennis Court* should this year be celebrated with particular *eclat*, so that their revels might be performed on the 20th of June. During these preparations, the Jacobin club and the Jacobin representatives, were busily employed in raising the same spirit of sedition in the country; and the result was, that surreptitious deputations arrived from different places, and delivered violent harangues in the Assembly against traitors and tyrants, whom they threatened with summary punishments.

These preparations were so extensive, that they could not escape the observation of the King's friends, and he was advised to attempt to counteract them, by measures of opposite finesse. The plan proposed was, to employ a few persons that might be trusted to mix among the conspirators, and to expose their plots to the Magistrates, in such a manner as should oblige the Assembly to adopt some measures of prevention; but the attempt, however well designed, only served to irritate his enemies; for they paid so little regard to character, that if they could but get falsehood manufactured, to answer a present purpose, they paid no regard to its future mischiefs; instead of making any of the provisions, therefore, that the several cases called for, the Assembly merely prevailed upon some declaimer to get up, and accuse the King and his friends anew as traitors and conspirators, and without any better apology, passed to the order of the day.

Another measure of security which Louis adopted, with a degree of firmness, that for the moment confounded his enemies, was dismissing the Republican members of the Ministry, of which Brissot was the head; to make way for the friends of limited monarchy, headed by La Fayette.

Though this change threatened to weaken the Republicans, and disappoint their plans, it only served to arouse their energies, and occasion fresh intrigues to be practised against the Court; and, the enmity between the friends of liberty and the Republicans became every day more open and decisive.

The fear of being sent back to their original obscurity began to operate so powerfully upon each of the Republican factions, that a kind of common feeling united them all in a fixed determination to destroy the last remains of liberty, and to establish a system of terror in the place of the Constitution, in order that whenever they might find it convenient to prevent the opposition of any virtuous person, they might shed his blood without his being able to shelter himself under the protection of any law. They, therefore, divided themselves into different parties, amongst all the ignorant and desperate marauders, who frequented the clubs, and riotous congregations, and by speeches and pamphlets, composed of artful insinuations, persuaded the foolish people that they should always continue to enjoy an idle life; for that, when the Monarchy should be overturned, the property of the rich should be shared amongst them, or, according to the hypocritical cant of Brissot, "the reign of liberty should be beneficial to its friends."

By these, and other infamous devices, multitudes of desperadoes were collected about the Assembly, to demand the deposition of the King, under pretence of petitioning the representatives of the people. At the head of one of those gangs appeared a fellow, named *Santerre*, who styled himself commander of the citizens of *St. Antoine*, a suburb of Paris, chiefly inhabited by vagrants, black-

guards, and thieves; and, having demanded admission of the Assembly, he was suffered to pass through the hall, followed by an armed mob, bearing every emblem and device that could indicate their atrocious designs. One man carried a scroll; which professed to be, "Advice to Louis XVI." and another, that the "People were tired of suffering." But, that they might not be in the least danger of being misunderstood, another bore the conclusive admonition, "Tremble tyrant! thy hour is come."

Amidst all these tumults, *M. Petion*, the Mayor of Paris, who had been chosen by the interest of the Brissotines, always took care to be out of the way when any of those tumults were to happen; and if the friends of order complained of their being permitted, he affected to disbelieve them, and treated the complaints as attempts to calumniate the people, and as indicative of a conspiracy against liberty; by this means he became extremely popular with the rabble, and could lead them wherever he pleased. This man was a principal in the Brissotine party, and his conduct is an infallible proof of the criminal designs of those men; for if they had had the smallest regard to liberty or justice, they would have used his authority to have effected their purpose by law, instead of the sanguinary violence of a mob; and the circumstance of their having rejected the law, is a sufficient proof that the Monarch had not violated it, and that they had no ground for deposing him but what their own determination to seize the government afforded.

THE END OF CHAP. X.

CHAPTER XI.

The 20th of June....Preparations for Tumult....Refusal of the Assembly to prevent it....The Thuilleries assailed.... The Indifference of Petion, the Mayor....The King's Apartments entered by the Mob....The Ferocity of their Leaders....The undaunted Conduct of the King....His generous Concern for his Family:....La Fayette writes to the Assembly from the Army, and arrives in Paris....He demands Redress of the Assembly for the late Outrages....Their Proceedings thereon:...Petion suspended....His Suspension confirmed by the King:...He is restored by the Assembly....The Factions in the Assembly unite in a farcical Oath of immortal Union for the Maintenance of the Constitution....The King congratulates the Assembly thereon....Their subsequent Inconsistency....The Country declared in Danger:... The Federation....Increase of Wretchedness and Depravity....The increasing Danger of the King....Imbecility of the Combined Powers....The Duke of Brunswic's infamous Manifesto.

THE terrible 20th of June at length arrived, and some of the members of the Municipality, who were not corrupted, apprised the Assembly, that the populace were collecting with such evident designs of proceeding to some outrage of the public peace, that they thought nothing short of some vigorous interference of the legislature could avert the most imminent danger. The friends of moderation moved, that a decree should be passed, to forbid the assembling of armed bodies of people, and to prevent those cohorts from surrounding either the Palace or the Assembly, but this was scouted by the majority, as trenching upon the *Majesty of the People*; and Santerre, accompanied by Legendre, a butcher, led their myrmidons

through the city, and, under pretence of going to the King with a petition, collected all the elements of crime and confusion in one mass, with a design to overwhelm the unfortunate Monarch and his family in irretrievable ruin.

As some very severe examples had been made among the soldiery, in consequence of what had taken place at Lisle; and indeed, as the army in general, shrunk from the excesses of the Republicans, hopes were entertained that a guard might be relied upon for the protection of the palace. Accordingly, when the rabble commenced the attack, it was some time before they gained admittance; but they were provided with four pieces of cannon, and as the soldiers were strictly commanded not to fire upon the people, resistance very soon became as mischievous as it had been in every case in which the ill-fated Louis had been advised to attempt it. The assailants had provided themselves with hatchets, crows, &c. by means of which they broke down the gates and doors of the Thuilleries, and proceeded to point their artillery against the hall appropriated to the use of the guards, when the King, with cool and determined fortitude, presented himself, attended only by the Princess Elizabeth, his sister, who refused to quit him on any consideration. A few of the National Guards surrounded his Majesty, with a determination to defend him, or perish in the attempt.

The room was instantly crowded with a multitude of men, women, and children, uttering the usual cries of sedition. They insisted upon his withdrawing his *veto* from the decrees against his Brothers, and the Clergy; and the butcher (Legendre) advancing as their orator, in an insolent and brutal address, demanded the King's attention to what he was going to say, "Hear us, Sir!" said he, "for it is your duty so to do—You are perfidious—You have always deceived us, you deceive us still; but, beware of yourself, for the people are tired of seeing

themselves made your laughing-stock!" To which his Majesty calmly replied, that he regulated his conduct by the Constitution.

The firmness of the King, and his few faithful guards, disarmed the multitude of their ferocious designs, and the greater part contented themselves with pouring out the most atrocious execrations and abuse upon the Princess Elizabeth, whom they supposed to be the Queen. Others insisted upon the King putting on a red cap, which was one of the emblems of liberty assumed by these madmen. The King not only put on the cap, with much apparent gaiety and good humour, but the Queen, having now joined him, with a resolution to die by his side, he put one also on the Dauphin, whom her Majesty presented, in the national cockade, to the ruffians, who had been loading her with curses. The effect was precisely such as might have been expected from a giddy assemblage, who were the mere tools of a set of artful knaves. The King and Queen discovered no signs of tyranny, and as the intriguing leaders could not, without betraying themselves, misconstrue what the spectators could judge of by the evidence of their senses, the volatile crew were willing to admit that the Monarch and his family were very civil people, "*C'est bien honnête*," was echoed by the crowd, and, after traversing the apartments, the curiosity of the greatest number was satisfied. A few ferocious fellows attempted to push though the guards, but were unable to succeed: it should not be omitted, that though this multitude amounted to forty thousand, no instance of robbery occurred; and, except breaking a few mirrors and glasses, very little damage. This remark applies also to their seditions in general.

After the tumult was nearly over, Petion, and a deputation from the Legislative Body, arrived at the Palace, just to save appearances; but the King could feel no obligation to them, for it was not till after the Mayor had

been twice sent for, that he thought it worth while to take the trouble of attending.

It appears, by the united testimonies of all persons, acquainted with this event, that his Majesty did not evince any symptom of fear. A grenadier asked him the question. "No," he answered, "put your hand upon my heart, and feel if it betrays any signs of fear."

He appeared convinced that he should, at some time, fall a victim to the mad fury of the populace, a circumstance about which he seemed for himself indifferent; but the fate of his family gave him great uneasiness: even his enemies admit, that he was both an affectionate husband and a tender father. When M. Bertrand urged him to the adoption of more vigorous measures, he replied in the following terms: "*Oh! if my wife and children were not with me, it would soon appear that I am not so weak as is imagined, but what would become of them, if the measures to which you allude, should fail?*" His principal consolation under his affliction, was, that if his blood were shed, it would most likely appease the malice of the rebels and redeem his family from destruction; and he could not prevail upon himself to take any steps, which, if defeated, might aggravate his enemies to punish her his temerity.

Though the conduct of the Assembly upon the important occasion above alluded to, would not admit of a doubt that the leading members of that body were deeply concerned in it, they thought it prudent to involve their proceedings in as much doubt as possible; for the Marquis, (now General) La Fayette, who had been some time appointed commander in chief of the forces on the Northern frontier; and had gained some trifling successes, had written to the Assembly, and, in his letter, dated Maubeuge, June 16, most bitterly reproached them for their violation of the law. "Although encamped within sight of the enemy," said the General, "my army will

never forget that they are free; and if we are willing to shed our blood in resisting a foreign combination, *who refuse to let us make our own laws*, it is not because we will submit to the factious clubs of affiliated chiefs, organized like a separate empire in its metropolis, and usurping the powers of government for the purpose of *overthrowing the Constitution that we have made*.—To the nation, the law, and *the King*," said the Hero, "we have sworn, and we will be faithful to our oath."

Great difference of opinion prevailed as to the right of the General to address the Assembly; but his popularity was so great, and his reputation so well established, as a firm friend of liberty and his country, that the factions would not venture to insult him publicly, till they should be able to calumniate him to the nation. That it was a bold and irregular step for a general to dictate to the government from his camp, he had acknowledged; but he and his army stood in the singular situation of having laboured in the formation of the Constitution, which they were now fighting to defend, and it seemed rather too much to expect them to forfeit their rights of citizenship the moment afterwards, merely because they were the only persons embodied in defence of those rights. All the clubs, however, seized this discussion, and the factious representatives treated M. la Fayette as a traitor, who wanted to dictate to the Legislative Body; whilst moderate men began to hope, that the army had at last discovered the necessity of discountenancing the licentiousness of the people.

Time had not permitted these machinations to take effect, when the General himself appeared in Paris. His letter of the 16th had been accompanied by one to his Majesty, in which he pledged himself to the King, to defend him against the turbulence of the factions; and, upon learning what outrages had been committed upon the Sovereign on the 20th, he proved his noble soul to be stimulated by that high honour which becomes a freeman

and a soldier, and flew to support, in his own person, the justice which he had asserted.

The King received M. la Fayette with open arms, and the National Guard bore him in triumph to and from the Assembly; but it was evident, that no part of the citizens of Paris were disposed to second his spirited endeavours. In the Assembly the General was listened to with cold respect, while he declared that he had concerted such measures with Marshal Luckner, that his absence from the army could not tend to the least injury, and he presented himself before them in his own name, and the name of his indignant troops, to demand justice against the criminal authors of the disgraceful violation of the Palace on the 20th. Firmness and resolution was apparent in every word that he spoke, and the Jacobins knew that they were not yet in a condition to provoke him openly; instead of explaining their views, therefore, they suffered him to withdraw, drily answering, by their President, that they had "sworn to maintain the laws, and knew how to defend them." After his departure, some very severe remarks were made on his conduct, and a republican member (Gaudet) moved that enquiry might be made of the Minister of War, whether he had permitted M. la Fayette to quit the army. This motion was rejected by 339 against 334, the General's address was then referred to a committee, to report upon it, and many individuals in the kingdom were evidently desirous of marking it with their decided approbation; for addresses to that effect were received from several parts of the country, and one of them was even sanctioned by twenty thousand signatures.

At this trying crisis the friends of the King and the Constitution seem to have acted with as little firmness as upon most other occasions, yet they were not wholly inactive. There had been a superior council formed for some time, in the city of Paris, styled the Directory of the Police, and of this body the majority were moderate

men, and they had called upon the Mayor, as well as upon the Assembly, to prevent the disorders of the 20th, without effect; they therefore exerted their authority, and suspended him as soon as order was in some degree restored.

Upon this occasion the King did not second the efforts of his friends with that determined vigour which the audacity of his enemies demanded of him. He had himself most pointedly reproached Petion, and he should not have affected the least complaisance, but rather have strained a point in favour of his friends; instead of which, he began a sort of coquetry with the Assembly, by referring the decision to them. He was yet unacquainted with his men. They had so long taken up the trade of crucifying the natural affections, that they scorned all the arts of pleasing, as the contemptible amusements of the lower reptiles of the creation, whom they most devoutly hated, for daring to treat them as mere men, when every thought and imagination of their own hearts taught each of them to believe himself capable of making a perfect world;—they, therefore, contemptuously rejected the compliment, declaring, that they did not wish to do the King's duty, and should only interfere in case of AN APPEAL. The King's offer was, in fact, an appeal, for he stated his motive to be, that, as he was a party, he would rather wave his right, and let the matter be decided by the Legislature, in the first instance; but in truth, they were determined to reduce him to the dilemma, of either deserting his friends, or of incurring the odium of the mob, by approving the dismissal of their Mayor. The King chose to confirm the dismissal, and the Assembly immediately restored the Mayor.

After the general conduct of the Assembly, this additional violation of decency can afford little surprise; but it is not so easy to imagine, how any number of persons could arrive at such a degree of *highly refined hypocrisy* as to be able, after this, to persuade the world that they

were faithful to their oaths and to the Monarchy; and that, within a few days of their being prepared to destroy both.

When Geenral la Fayette arrived on the frontiers, he found the preparations of the enemy in great forwardness, and a sense of the danger which menaced the country most deeply afflicted all its true friends. That the evils to be dreaded from within were greater than those from without admitted of no question, and all those evils might be averted, if an happy union could be effected amongst the contending parties. Under this impression a member arose in the Assembly, on the 7th of July, and by a powerful appeal to the good sense of the whole body, conjured them to sacrifice their own particular views, and to become friends for the sake of their country. "Let all those," said he, "who discover faults in the Constitution, display a spirit of accommodation to each other, and let us swear to each other, that we will unite to maintain it as it is." Scarcely were the last words pronounced, when the two sides (Republicans and Constitutionalists) arose, threw their hats up, shouted applauses from every quarter, and each approching his opponent, the two sides embraced, and swore immortal union, taking their seats promiscuously, as a sign of endless harmony!

The happiness of the Monarch was said to be so closely connected with this event, that the minutes were ordered to be immediately transmitted to him, and the administrative bodies were directed to communicate the issue of this glorious moment to all the citizens. Such, indeed, was the marvellous combination of occurrences which crowded on at this period, that M. Carnot, who has since been regarded as the most complete of all the Republicans, stood up in defence of the King's authority, by moving, that the judicial powers should be especially charged to redouble their vigilance and authority.

On the return of the deputation, who had waited on the King, the Bishop of Lyons reported, that his Majesty,

after hearing the extract of the minutes read, answered, "That it was impossible for him to hear news more dear to his heart, and that he yielded to his urgent desire of coming to the Assembly, to testify all the joy with which this union had inspired him."

The King immediately entered the hall, amidst reiterated acclamations of "Long live the King!—Long live Liberty!"—and from the overflowings of his heart, declared his confident hope, that the result of this union would enable France to survive the dangers which threatened her, to which the Assembly replied by a suitable address, in which it professed that it "*already saw in the candour of his proceedings the omens of success.*" The plaudits of the galleries were equally loud with those of the Assembly; and, were it not for the many incredible occurrences that have astonished all mankind during this Revolution, it would scarcely be believed, that only a single Sabbath had passed over, when these very people assailed this very King with the heaviest curses and accusations that violence and bitterness could invent.

It is not possible to account for the credulity of vast numbers of well intentioned people in Europe, as well as France, in the professions of this Assembly, upon any other principle than the sublimity of their artifices, which bade defiance to ordinary comprehensions. That horde of political incendiaries, the affiliated Jacobins, never ceased in their endeavours to blow up the flames of discord, and to adapt their mischiefs with true-demoniac skill upon all occasions, when they might prevent a breach from being closed. A new season of riot was approaching, under the guise of a national fête, or grand confederation, to celebrate the 14th of July. Deputies from all the departments were to perform their several parts in the drama, and the business of the intriguers was to take care that such of these visitors, as might not yet be sufficiently corrupted, should not return home, without

bearing with them all the firebrands of strife that might yet be wanting to inflame the sober hamlets of the country, to make them as disorderly and licentious as the metropolis itself. The arrival of the federates was the signal for spreading alarms of both internal and external dangers. Ministers were called upon to give an account of the proceedings of the cabinets, and as it was not possible for any men of character to think of laying every secret of the state before an Assembly, open to the indiscriminate intrusion of the rabble of all nations, the most bitter invectives were poured forth against them, for refusing to develope to the Assembly the means best calculated to counteract the designs of the enemy. Brissot and his party required no stronger inducement to throw off the mask, which they had only assumed for a few days, and, after a torrent of declamation, in which he declared, *that the danger lay in the Palace*, the Assembly decreed concisely, "THE COUNTRY IS IN DANGER;" and two Addresses, replete with alarm, were drawn up, and sent to each of the armies, and each of the departments.

All the projects of the Brissotine faction being now nearly ready for execution, they no longer cared about the discovery of their designs, and they procured an address to be presented to the Assembly, by a gang of ruffians, federates from Marseilles, purporting to be the petitioners of the inhabitants of that city, to declare "the equality of men, and to pray the Legislature no longer to tolerate so gross an absurdity as an hereditary Monarchy, but to take from the King all power and authority that raised him above the level of the people." M. Martin, the member for that city, disavowed the whole of the doctrines, as well for his constituents, as for himself, and demanded vengeance upon its audacious authors; although he could not obtain a hearing till a party of soldiers had been sent for, to clear the galleries of the wretches, who were sent there to hoot him into silence.

Disavowals of this sort were of no value, for these people never reasoned. It was to the passions alone that the factious addressed themselves, and their principal art consisted in making use of their instruments at the moment when they were in the most useable order. The day of the Federation passed over, and the King attended to repeat the oath of fidelity to the Constitution, surrounded by the incendiaries, who were plotting his destruction; but whether it was owing to the firmness of the guards, who flocked round him for his defence, or that the Republicans would not renew their attack till they had succeeded in tampering with the army, is hard to determine. Nothing was attempted that day.

Dissipation and idleness had long since been so prevalent, that the number of debtors and poor was vastly increased, and many thousands of persons, who were not originally corrupt, became so, in the unprincipled hope of being able to destroy their landlords and creditors, with the overthrow of royalty. The practice of wounding the King's feelings was now resorted to in every possible shape, and as the late triumph of the Mayor afforded a most abundant opportunity, the mob took every means of insulting the King and his friends, with shouts of "Long live Petion!—Down with royalty, &c."

Notwithstanding it became every day more and more apparent, that the federates, whom the intriguers of the Republicans had brought to Paris, and kept there greatly beyond their time, upon various idle pretences, were mere assassins, collected from the Jacobin clubs, in different parts of the kingdom, and waiting to execute the design of their constituents upon the persons of the Royal Family, yet Louis could not be prevailed upon to attempt escaping from the metropolis, although both General la Fayette and M. Bertrand, two of his most faithful friends, offered to conduct him safely out of the reach of the bloodhounds by whom he was hunted. Whatever his hopes were, it is difficult to divest them of the appearance

of weakness; for, at a period, when nothing short of a general muster of his friends could possibly resist the machinations of the conspirators, he contented himself with publishing addresses, declaratory of his attachment to the Constitution. His professions were laughed at in the Assembly, every attempt at exercising the royal authority was treated with ridicule, and his orders reviled and sneered at, by the very legislature, who would have called him traitor if he had not issued them.

Whilst the Republicans succeeded in bringing the last remains of Royalty into complete contempt, they were equally successful in persuading the country that the Court prevented the progress of the French arms, by its intrigues with the Emigrants, and the courts combined against France. In this calumny, they were in some measure sanctioned by the conduct of the Combined Powers themselves, who, instead of marching as they ought to have done, with a strong column into the heart of the country, while it was yet undefended, continued issuing their puerile thereats upon the frontiers. "It is not in the success of their arms," said the Jacobins, "that the enemy places his hopes, it is in the intrigues of the Thuilleries. It is the army of couriers that pass between Coblentz* and the Court, whom alone we have to fear, and not the soldiers of Brunswick."

No effort on the part of the Combined Powers was necessary to irritate the King's enemies, or to reduce the number of his friends, and yet their ill fortune, unless it should happen to have been their folly, led them to adopt a measure, which effected both these purposes, more effectually than the united efforts of all the intriguers together could have done. This step was nothing wiser than grounding their arms, while they got a Manifesto circulated through France, signed by the Duke of Brunswick, as generalissimo.—It declared the intention of the Emperor and the King of Prussia, to put an end to the

* The head-quarters of the emigrant Princes.

anarchy which prevailed in France; to release the Royal Family from captivity; to restore the King to his legitimate power, and that the two courts had no other object in view than the welfare of France, without any pretence to enrich themselves by making conquests. That the Combined Armies should protect the places and the inhabitants, and their property, who should submit to the King, and that they would concur in the restoration of order and police throughout France. That the National Guards fighting against the troops of the Allied Courts, and taken with arms in their hands, should be punished as rebels to their King.—That the inhabitants, daring to defend themselves against the troops, should be punished instantly, according to the rigorous rules of war, or their houses demolished or burned.—That the inhabitants submitting should be protected.—That Paris should be called on to submit instantly to the King, and to set him at liberty; their Imperial and Royal Majesties having made personally responsible for all events, on pain of losing their heads, pursuant to military trials, without hopes of pardon, all the members of the National Assembly, of the departments, of the district, of the Municipality, and of the National Guards of Paris, justices of the peace, and others whom it might concern. It further declared, that if the least violence were offered to the Royal Family; if they were not immediately placed in safety and set at liberty, the most exemplary and ever-memorable avenging punishments would be inflicted on those who deserved it, by giving up the city of Paris to military execution, and exposing it to total destruction. Their Imperial and Royal Majesties also promised to employ their good offices with his most Christian Majesty, to obtain for the inhabitants of Paris a pardon for their insults and errors, and security for their persons and properties, provided they speedily and strictly conformed to these requisitions. They protested before-hand against the authenticity of all declarations to be issued in the

name of the King, so long as his person and his family should not be in full safety. The Duke of Brunswick promised that his troops should everywhere observe good discipline, and that he would treat with mildness all well-disposed subjects who should submit peaceably and quietly, and to employ his force against those only who resisted. He therefore called upon and expected the inhabitants of the kingdom not to oppose the troops under his command but rather to suffer them to enter the kingdom freely, and to afford them all the assistance circumstances might require.

His most Serene Highness, on the 27th of July, issued an additional declaration: it recapitulated his resolution, to inflict on the inhabitants of Paris the most terrible punishments if the least insult should be offered to his Christian Majesty. It declared, that if the King, the Queen, or any of the Royal Family, should be carried off, all the places and towns whatsoever, which should not have opposed their passage, and should not have stopped their proceedings, should incur the same punishments as the inhabitants of Paris; and that the route of the Royal Family should be marked with a series of exemplary punishments, justly due to the authors and abettors of crimes for which there is no remission: and it stated, that their Imperial and Royal Majesties would not allow any place of retreat to be the free choice of his most Christian Majesty, in case he should comply with the invitation which had been made him, unless that retreat were effected under the escort which had been offered.

THE END OF CHAP. XI.

CHAPTER XII.

Effects of the Duke of Brunswick's Manifesto....The King disclaims its Sentiments....Petion demands, in the Name of the Sections of Paris, that the King be deposed.... The Assembly defer their Determination for a Week....The TENTH OF AUGUST....The outrageous Conduct of the Brissotines....The Thuilleries attacked, and carried in Eight Hours....The dreadful Massacre of the Swiss Guards, and of the Defenders of the Palace....The King and his Family fly to the Assembly....The Assembly decree the King's Deposition, and that the Royal Family be confined in the Temple, to which they are conducted by Petion....Intended Dissolution of the Assembly, to make Way for a National Convention.

NO circumstance, during the whole course of the Revolution, did so much mischief to the virtuous and liberal part of mankind as publishing this wretched Manifesto: for it made no distinction whatever between the sober and well-meaning friends of limited monarchy and the all-destroying Jacobin, who threatened every advantage of life, and even life itself, with unlimited destruction. "Who, then, do these combined armies come to favour," said every considerate Frenchman, "but the friends of a worn-out despotism, which I can only recollect with abhorrence?" The conclusion was perfectly natural: "This enemy must be repelled, and then I may indulge a hope that the friends of liberty may be able to establish a free constitution."

On the 3d of August, two days after this Manifesto had been read in the Assembly, the King wrote to that body, and, rather injudiciously, suggested the posibility of its not being authentic, at the same time disavowing all

its sentiments, and promising every thing that could be expected of him. His declarations were now at an end —his promises useless. A motion was made to print his Letter, and send it to the eighty-three departments, but the previous question was instantly passed, amidst the shouts of the galleries. Many of his friends now saw that they must adopt the policy of Nicodemus, and not avow their attachment to him in the open day; whilst others, fearful that their wishes to be heard, might be attributed to a desire for defending him, apologized to the mob, by saying, "they only rose to declare that the King's Letter was a heap of falsehoods."

Thuriot said, that the King had only written this Letter because he knew that the Municipality of Paris were going to demand his deposition; and instantly the hypocritical gang of republicans appeared at the bar, with a petition, avowing *just one half* of what they wanted; because they knew that if they obtained that, they could easily seize upon the other half. Petion appeared at their head, and pretended that he came from the forty-eight sections of Paris, to demand that the King should be excluded from the throne, and that the direction of affairs should be intrusted to responsible ministers, until the election of a *new king*, in a national convention.

Petion supported this petition by a review of what *he* called the King's conduct since the Revolution, which, he said, *proved him to be an enemy to the people, to the laws, and to France.* The petition created such a violent agitation in the Assembly, that the president was obliged to adjourn the sitting; and, in the evening, the Assembly resolved to determine the important question on that day seven-night. The farce of deliberation was no more necessary on this occasion than it had been at their abolition of nobility; for the factions had already got their desperadoes organized to attack the palace, as the residence of an outlawed criminal; but the desire of assuming a plausible appearance always induced the most pro-

fligate of these sects to delay their crimes till they could find a plausible excuse for committing them.

All business, but that of treason, ceased in Paris from the 8d of August; and the leaders of the National Assembly were employed in passing such decrees as should favour the insurgents: patroles of rebels were also placed, by Petion and Santerre, at the outlets of the city, to prevent the possibility of the King's escape. Preparations being made for carrying the decree into execution, on the day before the Assembly had resolved to pass it, the palace was attacked on the 10th of August. As many of the leading members of the Assembly were desirous of aiding in the assault, who were at the same time desirous of being concealed; it was determined that the riot should not commence till after dark: it was, therefore, not till eleven o'clock that Danton called, "To arms! to arms!" and all the bells were rung, to proclaim the city in a state of insurrection.

It is not possible to enter upon the threshold of this transaction without horror, as well on account of the miseries it has inflicted as the crimes by which it was accomplished; it is even a subject of very serious lamentation to the honourable part of mankind, that the impostors, by whose intrigues it was brought about, should have been successful enough to have excited doubts in the minds of many as to the extent of their criminality.

It will be recollected that the Directory of the Police denounced the insurrection of June 20th to the Assembly, and that Petion, could not be prevailed upon to stop it; the Directory afterwards superseded him. It will also be recollected that his petition to depose the King pretended to be the petition of the city of Paris: now it seems rather extraordinary that the city of Paris should send a petition by him for such a purpose, and yet retain the Directory, who were known to be of sentiments so opposite: this difficulty, however increases very much

when it is discovered, that not only the Directory, but the whole Municipality of the city, were so decidedly against him and his petition, that, the moment the insurrection commenced, the intriguers passed a resolution, "that as the Council and Municipality of the city might impede the *deliberations* of the people, they should no longer be obeyed."

The city of Paris had very little voice or hand in the whole proceeding: the heads of the several parties reckoned upon thirteen or fourteen thousand of their own ruffians in the metropolis, and they brought about five thousand more from the departments, among whom were many soldiers, who had been drummed out of their regiments for their crimes, and many galley-slaves: of these classes were the famous Marseillois, and Federates of the West, as they were called, who had been brought to Paris to assist at the fête on the 14th of July; and, by distributing themselves in all parts of the city, and keeping up a constant noise, these people collected a vast number of idlers constantly round them, which, to a spectator, served to make them appear more numerous than they were. It was these assassins whom Petion represented, and he, as well as Brissot, Condorcet, Santerre, and the whole party, knew that the citizens of Paris would counteract them unless they were *robbed of every means both of choice and action.* They, therefore, as traitors, not to the King, for that is not worth contending now, but to their fellow citizens, in whose name, for whose welfare, and at whose desire they pretended to work this revolution:—as traitors to these citizens of Paris did they, at twelve o'clock at night, seize the government of the city, and forge, in the *character* of magistrates, such orders as were necessary to counteract those which the Municipality of its choice had given, for the maintenance of those laws and that constitution which it had sworn to defend, after the most mature consideration! This the Brissotines called liberty!

The first order that the municipality of usurpers forged, was one to supersede Mundat, the Commandant of the National Guard, and to appoint the chief assassin, Santerre, to succeed him. This precaution might not, perhaps, fully have answered their purpose, for the Commandant might have disputed their authority: but they took a very short way of preventing that obstacle; for they had his head cut off, and carried about upon a pole, to shew what would be the consequence of opposing their orders.

The conquest of the palace was not effected so soon as it had been on the 20th of June; for though, the attack commenced at one in the morning, it was nine o'clock before the outer gates were forced. There had been some preparations made for resistance, but, like all the efforts of this unfortunate Prince it was rather an *attempt at resolution* than *resolution itself*. Beside part of the Swiss guards, and a few companies of the national grenadiers, who were resolved to defend the constitution, there was a considerable body of Royalists, who had entered with a resolution to subdue the traitors or perish in the attempt, the whole together amounting to near three thousand armed men. Such a body, headed by a bold and intrepid chief, would have been more than sufficient to have secured a victory, if they had attacked the insurgents, instead of remaining cooped up in the palace, and acting upon the defensive.

When the assailants had forced the outer gates, they were met by the King's guards, who, by a well directed fire, drove them back, and obliged them to leave four pieces of cannon behind them. The Swiss now formed in the great court in order of battle, whilst the cannon playing upon the palace had already pierced the roof; the bodies of the slain were strewed on every side, and the folly of resistance became evident every moment; for, in the multitude of advisers, no one had the command. The defenders of the palace in a few minutes

became a disorderly crowd, with no advantage over their adversaries, and greatly inferior to them in number. They failed, and they fell—not for want of bravery but for want of a commander: they were overpowered by numbers, and the triumphant barbarians enjoyed the long looked-for sport of hacking them to pieces and dragging their mangled carcases in their horrible processions. All the Swiss that the mob could find they most inhumanly put to death in cold blood, and exhibited their remains at the end of their pikes! Of both parties about three thousand persons lost their lives in this attack; and the number would have been much greater, but that a part of the guards had gone to escort the Royal Family to the Assembly.

When the general supineness of Louis XVI. is considered, it will excite surprise that any idea should have been at all entertained of making a defence; and it is extremely probable that the measure was rather pressed upon him by the solicitude of his friends than chosen by himself; for he seems invariably to have had such an aversion to the shedding of blood, that he exposed himself to the most unwarrantable treatment, simply because the offenders calculated upon his forbearance. The danger was now certainly greater and more pressing than ever, this all his friends and all his family knew; and it is very surprising that he himself, after the length that the Assembly had gone, did not clearly see, that he must either be driven from his throne or fight in defence of it. Yet he seems to have had no such view of the subject; for, after the palace was attacked, and he was accompanied by the Queen, and the Princess his sister, in the midst of their brave defenders; after he had heard the terrible howlings of a thousand tongues bellow out the cries of "*deposition!* and *death!*" after the nobles and guards had assured him of victory, and the Queen had resolved to die by his side; he took the unaccountable and fatal resolution, of going to throw himself, with

his family, into the arms of the National Assembly, least he should be charged with violating the constitution; and, before he quitted the palace, gave strict orders not to fire upon the people!

It would, perhaps, be vain and futile to attempt reconciling this conduct with any principle of human action; yet, as much censure has been directed against this unfortunate step, it will be doing no more than justice to recollect what was the precise situation of the King at the moment in which he took that resolution. M. Mundat, the Commandant of the National Guards, was supposed to be one of the most strenuous supporters of the constitution; he had promised to take such measures as should greatly retard the operations of the insurgents, by posting troops at different avenues of the city; he had also pledged himself for the co-operation of the Municipality; he was also to take the command at the Palace, and upon his arrangements much was to depend: the King reckoned much upon him, but he did not appear at his post. The King knew nothing of the change of the Municipality and as little of the catastrophe of the Commandant. He knew that he had been often deceived and betrayed, and, very lately, by the whole Assembly: he knew that he could find very few persons to be trusted, and those alone whom he did trust could become traitors; might not then the truant Commander have been deceiving him to the last moment: and was it not now a measure of policy to discredit his whole story, by adopting a conduct directly opposite to that which he had said would take place?

Such, or some such motives, may have occasioned the King's determination: but, if it should not be admitted that it was guided by any such motive, there is still much ground to suspend a censorious judgment. He had been humbled so rapidly and so excessively, that his train of reasoning, must have been very different from that of his cotemporaries; it is not every person who knows what

he would do in ordinary circumstances, who is capable of judging what he would do in extraordinary cases; and the situation of Louis, at the moment we are speaking of, left every other extraordinary case so far behind, that if a censure should not be passed upon his conduct till it comes from a person qualified to judge, it is very likely that he will not suffer the smallest harshness from the present generation.

A combination of unexampled events had placed him now in a situation the most distressing that can be conceived. The members of the Assembly, to which he had retreated, thought no business of so much urgency as formally passing the decree of Deposition; but these political Pharisees could not proceed to any business in the King's presence, because it was *contrary* to the constitution; this afforded a pretence for forcing the Royal Family into a little disagreeable corner, where the secretaries kept their books, which deprived them of the poor consolation of exchanging their thoughts, and subjected them to the cruel espionage of a prison, while it was yet pretended that their persons were inviolable.

Having thus inflicted fourteen hours of mortification and pain upon their helpless captives, the vulgar pride of those little-minded republicans became satiated and appalled with that mode of exercising their tyranny, and, therefore, they decreed that the executive power should be withdrawn from the King, and that he and his family should be confined close prisoners in the Temple. To increase their triumph and aggravate the pain of the family, orders were given that the traitor Petion should go, in the same carriage, to carry them to prison; and he not only took occasion to insult them by his advice on their journey, but even stopped the carriage occasionally, to let them hear the speeches of the infamous orators who were irritating the people against them by their foul calumnies.

The least reflection upon the conduct of the Assem-

bly would be a waste of time, its duplicity and baseness are evident to the most inattentive reader; and from what has been already seen, it will excite no surprise, that, after they had removed the King entirely out of their way, they crowned their deceitful and treacherous system by a long series of cruelties, the most refined and atrocious that demons could have devised. Not only were the ministers of the King, but the clergy, the ladies of the household, the pensioners of the family, and many thousands of persons, suspected of being Aristocrats, seized, upon the accusations of the hired accomplices of the members, and barbarously torn to pieces by marauding assassins set in motion by themselves. They were too cowardly to call the obnoxious persons before them, and take upon themselves the odium of passing a sentence of death upon them for mere difference of political opinion, and therefore they gave latitude to a licentious and brutal people, whom they knew would execute their execrable purpose, without their being obliged to be the immediate perpetrators of the crime.

Thus the Revolution had taken a turn which afflicted the hearts and threatened to disappoint the hopes of all good men. The Assembly was, however, about to dissolve; for, in compliance with a general demand, a National Convention was to meet on the 20th of September, to consider the question of formally constituting a Republic, and some consolation remained in the consideration, that this Assembly at least would not long retain the power of doing mischief.

THE END OF CHAP. XII.

CHAPTER XIII.

Design of the preceding Chapters....Th difficult Task of the Historian of the Revolution....The probable incredulity of Posterity. To whom the present Sketch is interesting.... Expectation of a Revolution occasions a great influx of Strangers to Paris....Buonaparté amongst the Number.... His Occupations whilst in Corsica....His Attachment to the rising Parties, and for what Reason....Of Military Patriotism....Buonaparté has a Command at Ajaccio, in Corsica....His Leisure for Observation of the great military Operations between France and the Combined Armies.... La Fayette and his Staff quit the French Army....His hard Fate....Dumourier appointed to succeed him....Longwy and Verdun surrendered....Death of M Beaurepaire.... Alarms at Paris....Danton proposes to raise Volunteers for the Armies....The 2d of September....The dreadful Massacres at the Prisons by the Parisian Mobs....Death of Madame Lamballe....Dumourier's masterly Arrangements ....Operations of the Armies....Final Success of the French ....Duke of Brunswick applies for an Armistice....The Prussians, Austrians, &c. evacuate France....Conduct of the King of Prussia to the Emigrants....The French retake their Towns....The Country declared no longer in Danger.

IN the preceding sketch of the origin and progress of the French Revolution in its earliest stages, it has been endeavoured to mark the events of that important period, rather with a character that can be conceived at a single glance, than to present such a view of the subject as would require a particular and scrupulous examination, before the mind could be satisfied of its correctness. Perhaps, in works of this nature, truth would be better served by attempts to generalize facts, than if the facts were laboured in their description. The eye becomes distress-

ed if its attention be excited by an endless variety of objects. If it be surprised by simplicity of design, it is not fatigued before it has acquired the full meaning which boldness of effect is intended to convey.

What hand shall venture to commit to the page of history the events of the French Revolution; what historian will collect the innumerable facts, even as annals? There is no man in our own times the value of whose labours would be appreciated by the present generation, for they need no solemn record of what they have seen and heard, and the service he would intend to posterity would be received with ingratitude.

There is nothing so dreadful that has had the power to appal, and nothing so sublime that could delight the human mind, that has not been equalled by the events we have witnessed; and it is to be feared that, if the history be written, it will be read by men in after-times as a figment of the imagination, and considered only of importance, as a monument of the taste and genius of their ancestors for horrible and romantic fiction. The occurrences are so extraordinary and so numerous, so different in their nature, and so various under similar circumstances, that they will be thought marvellous or incredible. The truth of those facts, which display every contrariety in principle or action—the heroism and the cowardice, the grandeur and the meanness, the excellence and the cruelty—the virtues, the crimes, and the vices of the people who mingled in the mighty struggle—their dreadful depravity, or their super-excellence in virtue; everything will be questioned or disbelived.

The view that has been presented of the important occurrences preceding and during the first years of the Revolution has been rendered necessary to a due consideration of the subject of the present work. The important political drama which France displays is not yet finished, many of those who were at its commencement

will not be present at its conclusion; some are already slumbering with the dead, others will soon sleep with them; and some, that have appeared spectators of the latter scenes, and who may reasonably be expected to witness the catastrophe, had not entered the theatre till after the curtain had drawn up: it is to these that the sketch is the most interesting; it is these that inquire what were the causes of those distractions in France which produced the dreadful crimes that scourged that unfortunate country; they ask, "How have these things been, and how are these things so?" It becomes a duty to satisfy the inquiry: and, though the retrospect may be painful, the lesson is important.

To what end have these events transpired? have they promoted the happiness by ensuring the peace of the world? alas! who will affirm it? Have they obtained for the unhappy people, with whom the calamities originated, the liberty which many of them ardently desired, which some of them died for, and which they all expected? The question is premature; other events must be observed before a dispassionate man will venture to reply.

The occurrences, however, that remain to be noticed require also that we should for a moment revert to an early period of the Revolution.

About the time that the Notables met, in the year 1787, the discontents in Paris were considerable, and they increased with rapidity until the year 1789, when the taking of the Bastille by the Parisians commenced the Revolution.

No well-informed and thinking individual in France had remained regardless of its affairs, and many, who were neither natives nor inhabitants, partook, either by education, or the possession of property in that nation, or by acquaintance or relationship with its inhabitants, or from other causes, a lively concern in the misunderstandings between the government and the people; a great number, who, were neither desirous of calmly ob-

serving, or facilitating or retarding the important results that were expected, hastened to the spot, as they were respectively prompted by their curiosity or their interest.

Some of these people, who had early and eagerly crowded to the French capital, expected to derive various advantages from an open rupture with the Court; among them was Napoleon Buonaparté: he had left the regiment of artillery soon after the death of his patron, Count Marbœuf, and retired to his paternal home in Corsica; he there found his mother a widow, in very indigent circumstances, and with several children dependent on her exertions for their support: Napoleon, it is probable, did not add to her incumbrances, though it is not very likely that he contributed to her relief. Neither the education which fits a man for a soldier, nor the manners of the army, are calculated to be serviceable to him in any employment of a rustic nature, or of any other kind that the inconsiderable island of Corsica could offer.

Whilst Buonaparté remained with his mother, he continued his application to study; but though he returned to his books with increased ardour, it was chiefly because the experience he had had in his military capacity had confirmed his attachment to his profession; he did not labour here with that unremitting attention that he had done in his noviciate at the military school at Brienne. Notwithstanding the exercise and amusements, in which he afterwards took an active part, his constitution had suffered much from long inaction during the first years he was at school: it is true that his form was calculated to resist fatigue and possessed much strength, but he had always the appearance of weak and delicate health; his despondency of promotion in the King's army heightened the melancholy of his appearance, but the decisiveness of his character imparted a sternness to his countenance that was less agreeable than remarkable in a very young man.

From the principles which Buonaparté had early avowed, it was natural to believe that he should declare against the King. Always unalterable in his attachment to military glory, he did not allow so favourable an opportunity, as the popular discontents at Paris afforded him, of signalizing himself, at least by his decision, in favour of some one party. A mind like his forces itself into notice when placed in difficult situations. In that moment, when the timid and the undecided are lost by their own weakness, a strong mind feels its own force, separates itself from the crowd, and stands undauntedly the opponent and the mark of the object it has singled out for destruction. The danger of an early declaration, in the beginning of the disturbances, Buonaparté disdained to shun: he seized, with the appearance of enthusiasm, the sense of that *decree* which acknowledged *no distinction* of rank, although some persons might have then rationally conjectured that such an avowal was likely to injure his future fortune.

It is not easy to believe that, with these sentiments, Buonaparté could consider Louis XVI. as the father of his people, and especially when he knew that the throne of that unhappy prince was surrounded by flatterers, who were interested in supporting the most flagrant abuses—that royal favour had become in France the only road which conducted to high military preferment, and that weak and corrupt ministers and an effeminate court, oppose an insurmountable barrier to genuine merit when it ventured to approach the throne: he had, therefore, to expect, in common with every other subaltern officer, who did not possess influence at court, or who had not fortune to purchase influence, very little regard or distinction. A long and faithful service was often rewarded with a cross of St. Louis; a paltry and empty honour, which decked indiscriminately a faithful defender of the state, or the parasite of a needy courtier.

Buonaparté was not singular in his attachment to the

popular cause, from these motives a vast number were excited to a determination to desert the Monarch by the same or similar circumstances: it was not, however, these considerations merely that induced others to adhere to the rising opposition, and to increase its numbers by their example and their influence. Some were actuated by motives more sinister even than the disappointment of sanguine expectations, which has been urged to extenuate their conduct. They expected to derive particular advantages if a new order of public affairs were obtained, and they therefore willingly lent their aid to effect that for their private interests, which they never would have attempted from motives of general good and real patriotism. Is it to be supposed that those of the French officers who deserted the King for the sovereign people, had more respect for the people or their cause, than they had for the Monarch or his government?

It is not without exception that we should suffer ourselves to be guided by the rule that "men are only to be judged by their *actions*." It may be true of those men who are eminently virtuous, or who unnecessarily expose themselves to the charge of indiscretion for a disclosure of the real motives by which all their actions are influenced; but we can by no means judge by this rule, men that may be either strongly supposed to be personally interested in the attainment of an object at which they aim, or who have never been placed in a variety of situations, or in such particular circumstances as would become the touchstone of their professions, and that would manifest the integrity or the depravity of their conduct. The French subalterns, in particular, had perhaps as strong inducements to hope for and to further a revolution as any description of men who promoted that measure in France; it was likely that such an event, or its consequences, would present a wide field for their exertions, and it is probably on the best grounds that the purity of these men's motives may be questioned. Military hero-

ism is supported by the ambition of attaining military rank, and perhaps military heroism was never more generally or actively displayed than in the French armies. One fact, however, we know, that an army which has destroyed a despotism, or the military men that have contributed to its downfal, never established in its stead a popular government. The patriotism of military chieftains is at all times questionable, and at no period has their conduct been less free from suspicion, and, in some instances, more justifiably charged with treachery to the cause they affected to support, than during the French Revolution.

Buonaparté remained at Paris until the year 1790, when the discontents of the Corsicans occasioned an organization of troops in that island, and he was appointed to the command of a battalion of national guards at Ajaccio, his native town; there was little service, however, required of these levies, and Buonaparté had ample leisure to continue his military studies. The war which ensued between France and the Combined Powers opened a wide field for his observations; the operations of the contending armies, which were so admirably detailed at that period, afforded him, an opportunity, which his advantageous situation enabled him to improve, of examining, correcting, and maturing that system of warfare that has since, by its activity and resources, assisted in subjugating most of the nations of Europe.

The Allies, it will be seen, by their obstinate adherence to the ancient system of military tactics, displayed their ignorance, of the inefficiency of the application of an old principle to a new practice. Buonaparté's penetration must have quickly remarked this circumstance, and improved it to advantage. The ensuing events afforded him ample contemplation and useful lessons.

The Assembly had failed in an attempt to arrest La Fayette; that general imprisoned the Commissioners on their arrival at Sedan; and, on the night of the 18th of

August, he determined on leaving the army he commanded, and which had already manifested their discontent of his conduct. Before the dawn of morning he mounted his horse, and, with seventeen companions, quitted the French territory, without having attempted to seduce a single battalion to desert. They hoped to reach some distant country, where they might await better days, in which their virtues and their patriotism might be useful*.

* They had not, however, travelled many miles before they were arrested by an Austrian patrole, and conducted to Luxembourg; they were afterwards separately imprisoned at Wesel. La Fayette here fell sick with mortification, and his life was despaired off. The King of Prussia intimated to him, that his situation would be ameliorated if he would draw up plans against France. The hero spurned the proposal with scorn; his rigours were increased: himself and his companions were conveyed, in a waggon, to Magdebourg, and they remained there during a whole year, in a dark and humid vault, strongly barricadoed. La Fayette, and some others, were removed to Neiss, to be delivered up to Austria, and were, soon after, immured, in separate dungeons, at Olmutz. By the management of two American gentlemen La Fayette escaped, but was retaken.

His captivity now became more rigorous, and his malady increased with greater violence. Neither himself, nor any of his fellow-prisoners, had received any information, during their confinement, respecting their families; Madame La Fayette was imprisoned at Paris, and hourly expected to be led to the national axe. Robespierre fell, her life was preserved, and, some time afterwards, she was released. At the end of 1795 she had sufficiently recruited her strength to attempt the execution of a project, she had secretly meditated. She arrived at Vienna, with her two daughters, and obtained an audience of the Emperor, who would only allow her to share the horrors of her husband's prison. She entered the fortress of Olmutz, with her two lovely daughters, where they were treated with the greatest inhumanity. Her health became, at length, so much injured, that she requested permission to visit Vienna for a week, to

This great man was abandoned by the very people for whose happiness he had invariably exerted all his abilities: his life was only preserved from their fury by his timely retreat; and, when his lamentable exile claimed the commiseration of the whole world, he fell under the unmerited vengeance of a combination of sovereigns. The cowardly conduct of his enemies will long be remembered by the benevolent heart; and perhaps the sigh will heave, on the recital of his misfortunes, while there exists a man upon the earth who is qualified to feel.

As soon as the Assembly were informed of La Fayette's escape they nominated Dumourier commander in chief. This extraordinary man had been minister at war, and then appeared very friendly disposed towards the King; but, after the defection of La Fayette, he affected counter-revolution sentiments, and he thus obtained the confidence of the Republicans: Marshal Luckner also attached himself to the rising party, as well as Biron, Mon-

breathe the fresh air, and consult a phycisian; in two months she was informed that this permission was allowed her, on condition that her daughters were confined in an apartment by themselves, and that she herself should never enter the prison again. She instantly wrote a most courageous refusal of this indulgence, and which (in reference to her husband's imprisonment) concludes thus: "Whatever, then, may be the state of my own health, and the inconveniency attending the stay of my daughters in this place, we will most gratefully take advantage of the goodness his Imperial Majesty has expressed towards us, by the permission to share in all the miseries of this captivity." Never afterwards did the unhappy sufferers complain, although they continued to inhale an air so impregnated and infected by a common sewer, and the privies under La Fayette's window, that the soldiers were accustomed to apply their hands to their noses on opening the door. They were not liberated until Buonaparté interfered on their behalf in 1797. In September they quitted their dungeons: La Fayette, with his family, retired to Hamburgh, and in the beginning of 1800 Buonaparté allowed them to return to France.

tesquieu, Kellerman, and Custine. Commissioners were deputed to ascertain the sentiments of all the generals, and their report was as successful as the Assembly could wish. The appointment of municipal officers, to be with the armies and in the garrisoned towns, and to assist at the councils of war, was a measure fraught with policy, and served the Assembly most essentially, when it stood in the greatest need of accurate information respecting the state of the troops, their operations, and the conduct of the officers who had the chief commands.

The eminent talents of La Fayette had checked the progress of the whole Austrian and Prussian armies, although he had no more than twenty thousand men under his command. That general being no longer opposed to the enemy, the Combined Armies projected to penetrate as far as possible into France. They bombarded Longwy with such an irresistible and incessant violence for fifteen hours as threatened to bury it in ruins, and the town then capitulated. The Assembly then ordered a court-martial on the magistrates who surrendered the place, and they were executed.

Verdun was next invested; the place was destitute of everything; the enemy kept up a secret correspondence with the inhabitants;—the magistrates considered the town untenable, and even the municipal officers advised its surrender. Although the garrison consisted of no more than two battalions, Beaurepaire, the commander, determined to hold out to the utmost; but, finding all his efforts useless, and that the advice of his colleagues was to capitulate, he drew a pistol from his belt, in the midst of a council of war, and discharged it against his temple.

It is impossible to describe the consternation at Paris, when it was known there that Longwy and Verdun had surrendered. The Assembly and the people were equally alarmed, lest the report should be true, that in a few

hours the Duke of Brunswic would be in the vicinity of Paris. Danton, however, the Minister of Justice, whilst melancholy and despair were seated on every countenance, declared there were not less than 80,000 stand of arms in Paris. He proposed that their owners should deliver them up, and that a band of volunteers should be raised and equipped with them. The Assembly decreed this, and that all who were not incapacitated should be in readiness to march. These measures exhilarated the drooping spirits of the Parisians, and they eagerly crowded to carry them into effect.

It was expected that the volunteers would be enrolled in the respective districts to which they belonged, but the grand promoters of the scheme had something else in view. Alarm guns were fired at two o'clock in the morning of the 2d of September; the tocsin was sounded; the country was declared to be in danger, and the people were invited to assemble in the Champ de Mars, from whence, as was pretended, they were immediately to march against the common enemy. Multitudes were thus easily collected; and as soon as the resolution of the Assembly, which had been moved by Danton, came to be understood, the general cry was, "To arms, citizens; to arms! the enemy is at hand. Every garrison has fallen; every garrison has betrayed us. We are yet in the hands of traitors!" During this paroxism of despair, news were fabricated that a body of French troops, to the number of 4000, sent as a reinforcement to Verdun, had, by treachery, been led into ambuscade, and cruelly cut to pieces. This raised the fury of the populace to its utmost height.—"We have no one to trust to, and we must face the enemy!" they exclaimed—"We are to be butchered like sheep, and shall we not turn upon our haters?—To the Abbey and the Two Carmes! Let us cut the throats of every traitor!" Such were the propositions in the hall of the Jacobins, and the exclamations of the furies that crowded the streets. At the convent of the Carmelites,

where the refractory priests of Paris were confined, the Cardinal de Rochefoucalt, and about 180 (some say 220) priests, were handed out of the prison, two by two, into the street Vaugerard, and there cruelly put to death in cold blood; for the formidable pleas of innocence and age were of no avail. They next proceeded to wreak their vengeance on the unfortunate Swiss officers who were confined in the Abbey prison. These acts of atrocity were accompanied with the solemn mockery of a jury, made up of nine Italians and three Frenchmen; but it is known that their fate was determined prior to the adopting of such unpardonable mummery. It was proclaimed, before their execution, "*Il faut le largir*, "He must be set at liberty!" But alas! it was only to be hurried through a defile of ruffians, to be systematically cut to pieces, or pierced through the body with innumerable pikes. All the Swiss officers were inhumanly murdered, their commander in chief alone excepted, M. d'Affry, who had the good fortune to escape, owing to a mistake of the mob.

In the prison of La Force were murdered the ladies of the court, who had been arrested and imprisoned on the day on which the palace was attacked. Among these was the Princess de Lamballe, a woman of the most exquisite accomplishments both of body and mind. When she was summoned to appear before this self-constituted tribunal, she was indulging herself in that repose which her melancholy situation too often denied her. She fell a victim to the savage rage of the populace; for on her coming out of the prison, and being filled with horror at the spectacle of the numerous dead bodies, over which she had to pass, a ruffian struck her a violent blow with a sabre, on the hinder part of her head, which occasioned a copious effusion of blood; her bowels and her heart were torn out, and her head placed on a pike. There were other circumstances attending her death, so dreadful, and accompanied with such acts of ferocious indecency, that,

if it were allowable to relate them, they would appear as incredible as they are dreadful.

After having glutted their depravity in this cruel manner, the mob proceeded to form a bloody cavalcade; the heads and bodies of those whom they deemed most inimical to them were fixed on pikes, and carried through the streets for a considerable time. At last they directed their course towards the Palace Royal, where the procession stopped, and these lifeless victims were exposed to the derision of a surrounding mob; having previously, however, shewn to the Queen the mutilated limbs of the Princess Lamballe. The number of persons who perished at the different prisons, in this indiscriminate and unresisted massacre, amounted to more than five thousand.

In the meanwhile, M. Dumourier, alarmed at the advances of the Combined Armies, called a council of war at Sedan; at which it was judged highly imprudent to hazard an engagement with numbers prodigiously superior, as no hopes of victory could be reasonably entertained, but rather insupportable defeat and disgrace.

It is said that the whole effective force of the French Commander in Chief at this period did not equal that which was under the immediate authority of General Clairfait; but at this critical moment of suspense, the military genius of Dumourier shone forth with uncommon splendor: by the astonishing manœuvres and stratagems which his prolific mind was maturing for execution, he resolved to diminish and divide his strength. To Galbaud, stationed at the pass in the forest of Argonne, which Dumourier considered as of incalculable importance to the fate of the campaign, he sent Dillon (4th of September) with a considerable reinforcement. At this moment it was deserted by Galbaud, as impossible to be retained; but, when he perceived the reinforcements which had been sent him, he returned to the defence of it with renovated vigour; and it proved, in a great mea-

sure, to France what Thermopylæ was to Greece. Dumourier, in the mean time, took the pass at Grand Pré under his own immediate protection. It was soon disputed with him by the enemy; and, finding he could not retain the possession of it against the furious attack of such a superior force as he had to contend with, he retreated to St. Menehoud, a strong town, situated about 26 miles W. S. W. of Verdun. The Austrians, in disputing this pass, lost a considerable number of men, together with Prince Charles de Ligne.

Dumourier was soon, however, in a condition to become more formidable to the Allies by the reinforcements he received from Pont sur Sambre; Bournonville having joined him with thirteen thousand men, as well as Kellerman with the army of which he had the command. It was now (September 20) that Dumourier found himself in a situation to put a period to the incursions of the enemy. Kellerman, with determined bravery, at the head of sixteen thousand men, attacked and repulsed a vastly superior division of the enemy, and rendered all their efforts and stratagems utterly abortive. The Duke of Brunswic, however, at the head of the Prussian troops, endeavoured compleatly to surround General Kellerman, and by this means cut off his retreat, if he should be vanquished; but, the prying eye of Dumourier disconcerted all his measures. The calmness and intrepid fortitude with which Kellerman's line sustained the attack of the enemy has received the highest commendation.

While the movements of Kellerman were thus successful, the army under Dillon, on the very same day, experienced another attack from the enemy, but without effect; for the General having taken the precaution to place a long range of musketeers under cover of the hedges, in order to annoy the enemy as they advanced, had the satisfaction to behold them retreat with the utmost precipitation. It is impossible to calculate the advantages which resulted to France from these triumphant successes, or to

describe the effects they produced on the public mind. Instead of standing aghast at the frightful idea, that nothing could prevent the Combined Armies from marching to Paris, the people already anticipated the moment as at no great distance, when their country would be placed beyond the reach of danger.

The army, however, had still dangers to encounter and difficulties to subdue, of which the people in general were not competent to judge. Notwithstanding all the reinforcements which Dumourier had so lately received, his force was still scarcely a third part of what the enemy could muster. They were in possession of Varennes, and their camp on the heights of La Lune was considered as impregnable. The French army, of consequence, could find no retreat in an Easterly, Westerly, or Northerly direction, and the roads towards the South, especially at that season of the year, were a sink of mire and dirt. These circumstances also discouraged the enemy from a vigorous perseverance. The vast importance of the pass which Dillon so ably defended has been already noticed; it most effectually prevented the Duke of Brunswic from reaching Paris in the way he originally intended, and it appeared to him impossible to make the French abandon it. In this situation he had no other alternative than to attempt a circuitous route by the way of Varennes and Grand Pré, which would have lengthened his march at least fifty miles; a melancholy addition, since his troops were already too much dispirited and almost starving. About this time they were seized with a fatal distemper, which, in its ravages, proved more destructive than the military weapons of the French, and which was rendered more inveterate by the imprudent use of unripe grapes, as a succedaneum for bread, of which, it is reported, they were totally deprived for the space of four days.

In this melancholy situation of affairs the Duke of Brunswic applied for an armistice. It is worthy of

remark how an essential change of circumstances will induce a man to act inconsistent with himself. In July the Duke published his celebrated Manifesto, which afforded no very favourable specimen of the goodness of his heart, and in September he declared his readiness to recognise the very constitution against which he professedly took up arms. Upon this occasion he is reported to have said to Dumourier, respecting the King: "Make "him your King, under the strictest limits. Do not con- "tent yourselves with tying him up like the King of "England—make him a King of the Mahrattas—make "him a Stadtholder—make him the principal tax-gather- "er of the country—give him only a place—this is all "we ask, and then we shall have a pretext for retiring."

The Prussian army soon after evacuated the territories of France, and their example was immediately followed by the troops of Austria and Hesse Cassel. On abandoning the strong encampment on the heights of La Lune, the French there discovered about three hundred horses which were half devoured, so dreadfully destitute had the enemy been of all sorts of provisions. Verdun was retaken by the French; and the Prussian commander, in a conference with General Dillon, declared that the King of Prussia was anxious to maintain a good understanding with France. The same sentiments were previously avowed by the Duke of Brunswic to M. Galbaud; at which time he seemed to reprobate the sentiments contained in his celebrated Manifesto, as by no means his own. At the same time the King of Prussia most unjustly censured the conduct of the French Princes, as well as of General Clairfait. He declared "they had deceiv- "ed him grossly, and that he would remember it to the "end of his existence." For the distinction made by the King of Prussia between his own men and the Emigrants, in the regulations adopted respecting the exchange of prisoners, no apology can be offered. These unfortunate men had confided in his protection, and therefore

not to comprehend them in the cartel was infamous; they were not his subjects, but they were entitled to his guardianship on every principle of honour and honesty.

The Allies in general are to be blamed for acceding to the principle of the French Government, which condemned those brave men to suffer military execution as traitors; many thousands were wickedly consigned to judicial slaughter.

Soon after the French had retaken Verdun they followed up their conquest by the re-capture of Longwy, (October 22) under General Valence, and the territories of France being thus evacuated by the Allied Armies, the country was decreed by the Assembly to be no longer in danger.

THE END OF CHAP. XIII.

CHAPTER XIV.

Dilemma of the Executive Council....Roland's ineffectual Address to the people....The Convention abolish Royalty in France....Their Decrees in consequence....The Hatred of the Parties, and the Dissention of their Leaders....Dreadful State of the French People....Savoy annexed to France.... Emigrants ordered to quit France....Decree of Fraternity to all People....Siege of Thionville....Anecdote of Wimpfen....Brave Defence of the besieged, and their dreadful Situation....The Austrians raise the Siege....Conquest of Nice, &c.

WHILST the armies were engaged in this important struggle on the frontiers, the interior of France presented a picture equally interesting and attractive to the friends of mankind. When the Royal power was suspended, the Assembly had placed the government in the hands of Seven Ministers, who were denominated The EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, and amongst that number were included those Republican ministers of Louis, in whose dismissal he had given so much offence to the Assembly and the clubs.— These gentlemen found themselves now in a very different situation to what they had been in before; they had no longer the power of holding out the King as a butt of general censure, and they would themselves be responsible for any mal-administration or miscarriage, that might happen in the administration. When they served under the King they had a power to overturn; at this time they had a power to secure; and though they had done everything to weaken the government of Louis, as well as to attribute all his endeavours for the preservation of the public peace to a desire of tyrannizing over the people, they now found that the mere title of Executive Council

was insufficient to enable them to administer the laws, unless some means were taken to enforce obedience to them.

Roland, the Minister of the Home Department, exerted himself with particular energy, and published several addresses, couched in a style of the most nervous eloquence, to induce both the people, and their legislators, to obey the Government with the loyalty that became them as good citizens; but he and his colleagues very soon found that it was much easier to raise a storm than to command it, for the assassins of the 2d and 3d of September, treated his addresses as he had formerly treated those of the King; and, in spite of his egotism, they saw him only in the light of a man eager to restrain their lawless passions, and accordingly called him a tyrant, and marked him out for the guillotine, as well as his Royalist predecessors.

The addresses of Roland were, generally, composed by his wife, a turbulent woman, of very great talents, and they were highly important, as they mostly spoke the language of the whole of the Brissotine party. It is curious to observe, from a single extract, how different would have been the conduct of those unprinciple men towards the King, if they had urged the same doctrine in support of his government which they now urged in favour of their own. "If disorganization become habitual," says Roland, "if men fired with zeal, but destitute of prudence or knowledge, pretend to interfere daily in the administration, and impede its operations; if by the support of some popular favour, obtained by great ardor, and supported by loquacity, they disseminate mistrust, multiply accusations, excite the fury of the populace, and dictate proscriptions, the government is only a shadow, a nonentity; and the *honest man*, placed at the helm of affairs, ought to retire when he can no longer direct it; for he is not stationed there to be a statue, but to act."

The doctrine was remarkably sound, but it came about

a year too late! people who had been initiated in the "sacred right of insurrection," could not comprehend why such a valuable article should be kept out of use. Accordingly, ignorance and impertinence assumed the same empire over the new government, and canvassed all its measures as acrimoniously as they had done those of the old.

Such was the state of things when the season arrived for the meeting of the Convention; to which every one looked with expectation for the restoration of harmony and order.

On the 21st of September, the new Representatives having verified their powers, the National Assembly resigned its functions, and consigned its power to the Convention, by a formal address of renunciation, and a solemn assurance that its members would serve as an advanced guard of the new legislature. As their first act the Convention chose Petion their president, and though this circumstance was itself a sufficient indication of a powerful bias against Royalty, the leading members were determined to leave no doubts upon the subject; for, after decreeing that the existing laws should be continued in force, and the existing taxes be demanded, Collet d'Herbois rose, and suggested, that the Convention ought not to adjourn, till it had decreed the eternal abolition of Royalty in France. Neither the lateness of the evening, nor the importance of the motion, could prevent the deputies from instantly rising to demand that the question might be immediately put. M. Bazire exclaimed, against the enthusiasm which had taken possession of their minds, and besought the members to discuss a question of such magnitude with the dignity that became the representatives of a great people. His advice was treated as the dull prudence of a vulgar and plodding mind, which was unworthy the practice of philosophers of superior light, and the National Convention briefly decreed, that "*Royalty is abolished in France.*" Loud applauses,

and exclamations of "*Vive la Nation*," following the decree; and minutes of the sitting were ordered to be sent to the departments, and to the armies, as well as to be proclaimed throughout Paris.

In the next Sitting M. Condorcet was elected Vice-president, and the Convention decreed:

I. That all public acts should be dated the first year of the French Republic.

II. That the seal of the country shall be changed, and have for a legend, "French Republic."

III. That the National Seal shall represent a woman sitting on a bundle of arms, and holding a pike in her hand, with a cap of liberty upon it, and upon the exergue, the words, "Archives of the French Republic."

IV. That no petitioners shall be admitted to the bar till the evening sitting.

Those decrees having passed, a debate ensued, which tended to guide the judgment as to the character of the proceedings likely to be adopted by the Convention. A motion was made,

I. That all Citizens, without distinction, are eligible to vacant places; and

II. That all the Members of the judiciary bodies, now in the exercise of their functions, shall be changed.

Upon these motions one member was of opinion, that the renewal of judges ought not to be made in a partial manner, and that a committee ought to be appointed, to examine minutely into the business, and to report the result of their observations to the Convention. Another member observed, that judges ought not to be ignorant men; but it was answered, that the people certainly had the best means of knowing those among their fellow-citizens who were best qualified to discharge that important office, and the Convention seemed to have been so occupied with the desire of courting popularity, at any ex-

pense, that they decreed, "that all judges may be chosen, without distinction, from among the citizens."

The precipitancy of the Convention became so evident, within a few days of their session, that reflecting men began to tremble for the consequences of their rashness, and to question, whether liberty would suffer most from the rude attacks of opposing armies, or from the madness of misguided friends. Those apprehensions increased vastly, when it was known of what description of persons the Convention was composed: for, many of its members were beneath even the dregs of the two assemblies, and the whole together formed a body of men so unqualified and incapable of managing the affairs of a great nation, that there remained no possibility of their succeeding in any measure, but by means of stifling all criticism upon their measures, and enforcing implicit submission to all their follies by the most tyrannical decrees.

Amongst the members were several foreigners, of which number was Anacharsis Cloots, the mad Prussian, formerly mentioned, and the ringleaders of several gangs of rioters; such as Legendre, the butcher, who had assisted Santerre in breaking open the Palace, and insulting the King on the 20th of June; and Tallien, who signed the order for collecting all the assassins of Paris to slaughter the defenceless prisoners on the 2d and 3d of September.

The evil spirit which had long influenced the different parties in their conduct towards the King, now he was no longer in their way, began to display itself in their hatred and abuse of each other. The Brissotines, though equally treacherous with the Robesperian, and the Orleanites, were not equally cruel; and, as they had the government in their own hands, they had no interest in encouraging the scenes of horror and bloodshed which had so long disgraceed the country. They were, however, equally as objectionable to the Robesperians, as the Royalists had been, for, though they admitted no distinc-

tion of rank or property, they piqued themselves upon their literary acquirements, and claimed as much distinction upon that ground as the first noble among the Emigrants could claim, on account of his titles. The Robesperians, on the contrary, were mostly ignorant men, without any more pretensions to literature, than the superficial knowledge that they had acquired by their own researches late in life, and they could see no reason why any distinction should be granted to literature more than to aristocracy or royalism. The feelings of this party approached much nearer to those of the vulgar, than those of any other, and it was not long before the select parties, and delicate associations of the learned government were pointed out, as the surest signs of pride and aristocracy, or royalism; and the people were soon taught to look upon every man as an enemy to the country, who did not express himself in coarse and vulgar language, and appear dirty and negligent in his dress. One of the most perfect and consistent of this extraordinary sect, was Marat, a little ugly deformed man, possessing no one advantage by which he could claim respect or esteem, and who saw so much to envy, that he was incapable of doing any mischief by which he could be himself a loser. This person, inhabiting a celler, wrote an inflammatory paper, which was circulated daily, in which he not only inculcated the necessity of levelling all distinctions of rank and property, but declaimed against all ornaments of dress and furniture, and made out lists of proscriptions, to send vast numbers of persons to the guillotine, against whom he had no other charges than, that they prided themselves on account of some personal accomplishment. It was not possible for any talent or virtue to escape the censure of this profound leveller. If a man were bad, he would drag him forth to be punished for his crimes; and if he were good, he would hold him forth as equally an object of punishment for not committing crimes: as it would be dangerous to let any individual gain the esteem

of the people, lest they should value him above his fellow-citizens. What he considered vice, it was difficult to determine; but, he pointed out virtue as an object of suspicion, and wisdom of jealousy; decency he stigmatized as pride; delicacy as an attachment to despotism; and, the only infallible sign of a good citizen, he considered to be a dirty face and ragged cloaths. It was perfectly natural that this man should owe the same hatred to a government of learning as to a government of rank: and, accordingly, the Republic was no sooner declared, than he appeared in the Jacobin Club, to caution the *good citizens* against traitors in disguise, and to excite as much jealousy against the Government and the Convention as would be sufficient to prepare the lower classes for fresh insurrections.

Violent contentions very soon took place between the parties, and one of the Brissotines (Louvet), a man as vain as the rest, but not equally contaminated with guilt, publicly pointed out Marat, Robespierre, and Chabot, as leaders in the late massacres, and conspirators against the new government. Scarcely any doubts were entertained of the truth of the accusations; had they been noticed properly by the party in power, the disturbers of the public peace might have acquired some respect for the laws; but, instead of boldly meeting the question, Brissot resorted to the cowardly and evasive practise of moving the order of the day. Louvet complained vehemently of this neglect, great part of which he attributed to the *great tenderness* of his friend Petion, who he says, could have ruined Robespierre and all his accomplices, if he had but have revealed one forth of what he knew!! Poor innocent man! it was not the tenderness of either Petion or Brissot, that occasioned their connivance; it was their being themselves so deeply involved in guilt that they were obliged to purchase the connivance of other villains at the expense of their own consciences, or else their grand plot against the Monarch might have been defeated.

It was this general corruption of the leaders of every party that prevented the Convention, as it had done the National Assembly, from adopting any measure calculated to enforce obedience to the laws. The members flattered the insolence and licentiousness of the mob against their consciences, because they had not independence enough to speak in defence of justice; and thus the whole country became the seat of vice, to an extent that rendered life intolerable; or, as it was elegantly expressed by one of the republican members of the Convention, "an immeasureable mass of crimes, unknown to the fiercest nations, burst forth as a torrent, whose dikes were broken, and, spreading itself over a vast empire, threatening to deluge the whole globe." "Behold, around us," continued he, "confusion in all its various shapes; presumptious ignorance pretending to all the advantages of celebriety; greedy covetousness grasping at wealth; vile debauchery thirsting for lengthened indulgences; atrocious vengeance preparing for assassination; base envy despairing of the influnce of talents; and insatiate ambition burning with the desire of power at the expense of every crime! When villains, like these, begin to acquire the ascendancy; when the mob, mounting on heaps of spoil and the ruins of property, obey their commands; when magistrates lead the way to plunder through seas of innocent blood; when the guillotine becomes the national altar, to which brother leads brother, and fathers their sons, under the impulse of political zeal, I am compelled to acknowledge that no kind of slavery is so bad as that inflicted upon France in the name of Liberty. The sentiments which the representatives deliver in their places are not their own, but those of the ignorant and misguided multitude, who hoot them in their own galleries. We are governed by the rabble, and by crimes as numerous as our masters. One betakes himself to robbery, another delights in murder; one seeks pleasure in harrassing, imprisoning, and tormenting his ene-

my; another chooses rather to require his wife, and a third, disdaining to mince his inclinations, likes better to violate his daughters—too happy if the villain do not massacre her afterwards! It might even be imagined, that every one exerts himself to invent some new crime, over which nature has not yet groaned; as soon as one is found it is deified, and other villains labour, with eagerness, to make some new discovery, that shall have equal success. France has thus become dishonoured by thousands of banditti, who make vice a profession; and, amongst crimes, select, prefer, and cry up what are most shameful, most disgusting, and most horrible \&c\&."

Such a state did France arrive at very shortly after the assembling of the Convention; yet this violation of the principles of freedom did not prevent some of its friends, in other countries, from presenting it with congratulatory addresses, and exerting themselves, with unfeigned zeal, to give effect to all its measures: a conduct that would seem very surprising, but for the two following considerations: first, that many of the governments of Europe had been so fast approximating towards despotism, that the people hardly saw the possibility of preserving freedom but by some desperate means; and, secondly, that they were not, themselves, witnesses of the evils committed in France, but merely received the reports of them through those powers, whose ill-founded calumnies and injustice towards La Fayette, and the real friends of liberty, rendered them wholly unworthy of credit.

The established governments, instead of taking any measures to conciliate the minds of their respective citizens, as the crisis required, retained their usual *hauteur*, and treated the well-founded complaints of the people with insolence and contempt. The consequence was, that they lost the affections of their subjects, and those who could obtain assistance from France, threw them-

selves into the arms of the *new* tyranny, for the sake of revenging themselves of the *old*.

On the 26th of September the Convention was informed that the Duchy of Savoy had received the French troops as brothers, and had surrendered their country, in hopes of passing from under the government of the King of Sardinia to that of France. It had been one of the leading principles of the Revolution, that no wars were justifiable but those of defence; and, consequently, that France should never retain the dominions of her neighbours as conquests: but, like all their fine theories, this temptation was too strong for the patriots to resist, and, in a very few days, it was decreed that Savoy should form an eighty-fourth department of France, under the title of *Mont Blanc*. This circumstance was important to the curious observer, as it produced an incident by which the precise value of reputation in France could be correctly ascertained. General Montesquieu had been accused as a traitor, and a degree of dismissal issued, of course, in the hasty manner that the Convention did their business; but when his letter was read, announcing his entrance into Savoy, although it was entirely unconnected with the charges exhibited against him, the decree of dismissal was recalled; by which every officer was immediately taught, that innocence was no security, unless attended by success; and criminality no fault if it could be covered by a triumph: and the doctrine was soon pushed to the utmost extent, by reducing all the generals to the necessity of either pillaging all the territories contiguous to France or shedding their blood under the guillotine. The ambitious views of the Convention towards the neighbouring powers began to unfold themselves every day, and they were only interrupted to invent some new scourge to afflict their own people.

Many of the unfortunate Emigrants about this period returned to their native country, cherishing the idea that

they would procure the forgiveness and protection of their fellow-citizens; but the Convention thought proper to issue a decree against them which we cannot help considering as unnecessarily severe. It was childish to apprehend, that a few obscure individuals, without any resources, and only seeking shelter in the place were they were born, could have influence sufficient to subvert the constitution of France; and yet, certain it is, they were ordered to quit the kingdom (27th September) in twenty-four hours, or be instantly put to death, should they refuse to comply. It is truly astonishing that any person desirous of being ranked among the admirers of freedom should defend the spirit and tendency of this decree; for if the great cause of Republicans must be, according to their own solemn declaration, the cause of humanity, to depart so grossly from that cause is a dereliction of their principles.

This decree was instantly succeeded by another, in the enacting of which the Convention discovered the same want of manly policy, as had governed its conduct with regard to Savoy. A rupture having taken place between the Bailliwic of Darmstadt and the Duke of Deux Ponts, in whose territories it was situated, most of the people of that district, with the magistrates at their head, intreated the protection and support of the French Republic against the tyranny and oppression of that man whom they were determined to consider as no longer entitled to their loyalty or obedience. It was by no means incompatible with the law of nations to vindicate the cause of the injured, and humble the pride of their oppressors; but to pretend to convert foreigners into natives of France, by virtue of an omnipotent decree, was an invitation to every civilized state to treat France as an enemy, whose existence was at variance with the peace and happiness of mankind. This impolitic decree was conceived in the following terms:

"The National Convention declare, (and decreed the

" 19th of November) in the name of the French nation, " that they will grant fraternity and assistance to all those " people who wish to procure liberty; and they charge " the executive power to send orders to the generals, to " give assistance to such people as have suffered, or are " now suffering in the cause of liberty."

The decree was ordered to be printed, and translated into all European languages.

Mean time the armies evinced a degree of courage, and fought with a degree of success, that dismayed the oldest military councils of Europe. The Austrians besieged Thionville, but it resisted all their attempts to reduce it during the whole campaign. This small, but strongly fortified place, was commanded by General Wimpfen, who, on being summoned to surrender, made this reply: " You may destroy the fortress, and not leave one stone upon another; but you cannot burn the ramparts." An anecdote recorded concerning the siege of this place, deserves notice, as it is finally descriptive of the determined resolution of its defenders. Having procured a quantity of forage in one of their sallies, they fabricated a wooden horse for the inspection of the enemy, with a box suspended from his neck filled with hay, bearing this remarkable inscription: *When this horse has eaten his hay, then the city of Thionville will surrender.* They were as good as their word. The general not only resisted the attacks of a force, said to have amounted to about twenty-eight thousand men, but, in different successful sallies, he did them incalculable mischief. He was at length relieved by the retreat of the whole Combined Powers, when he and his gallant troops received those testimonies of gratitude and esteem to which their meritorious conduct justly entitled them. Perhaps the most memorable siege by which this campaign was distinguished, was that of Lisle, a strong fortified town of French Flanders. The enemy conceived the possession of this city as of infinite importance to the success of their undertaking, and there-

fore the reduction of it was deemed worthy the greatest profusion both of men and money. It was besieged about the beginning of September, and on the 23rd of that month the Assembly received a declaration from its defenders, that they would be buried under the ruins of the town rather than abandon their post."

Six days after this solemn declaration (29th September) it was summoned to surrender, by the Duke of Saxe Teschen, who received from the Council-general this spirited reply: "We have just renewed our oath, to be faithful to the nation, and to maintain liberty and equality, or to die at our post: we will not perjure ourselves." It was easy to foresee the consequences of this declaration: the Austrian batteries were instantly opened upon it, and levelled with dreadful fury, for the space of a week, against that quarter of the town which was inhabited by the lower orders of the community; no doubt, with a view to render them rebellious on account of their desperate sufferings, and thus obtain a capitulation when the furious populace became superior to their magistrates. The conjecture of the Duke was, it must be acknowledged, extremely rational; but after such a prodigious waste of ammunition as an incessant fire, continued for a whole week, must have occasioned, he had the mortification to find that the body of the people were as loyal as their magistrates: so far were they from discovering any symptoms of mutiny, as the Duke expected, that the keys of the city were by them hung up on the Tree of Liberty, in the middle of the great square; accompanied with a solemn oath, that the first person who should take them down, with a view to capitulate, should be punished with instant death!

Such a conduct, unquestionably, encouraged the magistrates and military to hold out to the last extremity, as they discovered, in the whole of their measures, a spirit of order and regularity. They divided themselves into distinct companies, each of which had its peculiar duty

assigned it, and even the women and children were usefully employed, in preventing many of the fatal effects which would have resulted from the enemy's bombardment. The public as well as private buildings were dreadfully demolished by the instruments of death which were thrown into the city, almost without intermission, till the 6th of October; and they chose rather to take refuge in cellars, vaults, and other subterraneous retreats, than resolve to capitulate: as if animated by one soul, the inhabitants of such houses as were reduced to ruins, found a sanctuary in those which still continued habitable. At this alarming crisis, it is reported, that the Duke of Saxe Teschen's sister was among the besiegers, feasting her eyes, contrary to that delicacy which appears so amiable in her sex, with the dreadful miseries of the brave defenders, and even putting the match with her own hands, to some of the instruments of death with which the city was assailed! Finding that no circumstances, however shocking and terrible, could induce them to surrender, the Austrians began (the 7th and 8th of October) to raise the siege, in a fit of desperation. It is said, that the whole loss sustained by the city of Lisle did not exceed five hundred; and that, even of this number, nearly three-fourths were women and children. This is remarkable; since, independent of their battering train, said to be the most formidable ever brought into the field of battle, the Austrians are reported to have thrown 6,000 bombs and 30,000 red-hot balls into this important fortress!

The successes of the armies in the South were still more rapid. General Anselm, formerly an ecclesiastic, crossed the Var on the 29th of September, and having the powerful co-operation of Admiral Truguet, who commanded a fleet of nine sail of the line, he took immediate possession of Nice, a sea port, situated at the mouth of the Var, which was deserted by the garrison of Piedmontese as soon as the victorious Republicans made their appearance: this example was followed by Villa

Franca, Montalban, and the whole of that territory; but, owing to the rashness and imprudence of the General, and to the total want of subordination which the soldiers discovered, the troops created universal disgust, and the reputation of Frenchmen was treated with contempt. This important circumstance was so severely felt by the National Convention, being so contrary to the reception of General Montesquieu, that Anselm was degraded from his military rank, and, afterwards, confined in prison, where he remained several years.

About the same time the Admiral of the French fleet increased the popular odium against the interest of that country, by a measure of severity that was generally considered unjustifiable. He had sent out a flag of truce on his arrival in the harbour of Onaglia, accompanied with a proclamation to the inhabitants, that the French nation wished to be their friends: this was conveyed to their magistrates by one of his captains. At a considerable distance the Admiral followed, in another boat, with no officer to accompany him, and gave positive orders to the fleet not to approach the shore, that no unnecessary alarm might thereby be occasioned. The people, at first, seemed to discover no hostile disposition towards the captain; but as soon as he prepared to address them on the subject of his mission, which they considered as an invitation to rebel against their own government, he was instantly saluted by a shower of musketry; the effect of which was, that Marshal Lahouliere's aid-de-camp, two midshipmen, and four seamen, were killed, and the captain, together with the adjutant general of the land forces, were wounded. This opposition excited the indignation of the Admiral; and he would accept of no apology from the magistrates, as it did not appear to him that such conduct would admit of the smallest excuse. His own boat having been placed beyond the reach of danger, he instantly gave orders to the squadron under his command to let go their anchors and open a tremendous cannonading against the

town: at the same time it was attacked from the land by Marshal Lahoulier, and, after being plundered by the conquerors, it was, in different places, set on fire.

The domineering spirit of the French now began to shew itself, in the conduct of the Convention towards Geneva. The reduction of Savoy gave much uneasiness and alarm to the neighbouring states, and the aristocratical party in Geneva were under considerable apprehensions: they wished to have a garrison of 1,600 men from the other Swiss cantons, while the French insisted that Geneva should be under the guardianship and inspection of their own republic. It is probable that the Convention had an eye to the republic of Geneva, as the Swiss garrison appeared to give particular offence. Montesquieu, of consequence, appeared before the city; but his resolution, at this period, was totally subdued: the Aristocrats overcame his determinations, and made him exceed his orders, by exhibiting the olive-branch of peace and amity; the consequence of which measure was, that the Swiss garrison was disbanded and the French commander withdrew his troops from the vicinity. By this conciliating conduct General Montesquieu became an object of fresh calumny, and several charges were preferred against him: he apprehended that he should receive no justice, if he submitted to a trial, and that every action of his life would be misconstrued by his enemies; he, therefore, deemed it necessary to retire into Switzerland.

THE END OF CHAP. XIV.

CHAPTER XV.

Military Operations of Custine....Spires and Worms taken, and also Mentz....The Austrians resolve to act on the defensive, and are defeated at Bossu, by Dumourier.... The Battle of Gemappe....Mons evacuated by the Austrians....The Bravery of Dumourier's Valet....Dumourier enters Brussels....Obliges the Austrians to retreat....The Distress of Dumourier's Army....Encreasing Violence of the Factions at Paris....They determine to get rid of the King. ....Discovery of the alleged Proofs of his Criminality.... He is declared guilty; and sentenced to Death, by a Majority of Five....The King's parting from his Family, and Execution.

WE are, next, invited to a contemplation of the conduct of Custine on the Upper Rhine, whose glorious career has few parallels in the history of military tactics. When he began his race of victory on the 29th of September, the dreadful situation of the roads, and the immense quantity of rain which had previously fallen, rendered it extremely difficult for him to muster his forces at Landau: he began his march, however, in spite of every opposition, and arrived at Spires on the succeeding day. There he found the Austrians in a state of military preparation to give him a warm reception: their right was defended by an eminence, and their left by the thick hedges of a garden. These advantageous positions, however, did not deter him from giving them battle, and compelling them to retire within the walls of the city: here they, no doubt, supposed themselves to be secure; but the triumphant Custine soon convinced them of the contrary. Finding that it would be tedious, and a waste of valuable time, to force open the gates by the thunder

of his artillery, he proposed to his troops to hew them down with axes, which was enthusiastically adopted and instantly accomplished: the army soon made a passage for themselves, and suffered more severely than they might have done, had they been less precipitate. The enemy, from the adjacent houses, where they had taken shelter, poured upon the French a most tremendous fire; but the General, ever collected in the midst of the greatest danger, soon found means to dislodge them by his artillery and howitzers; so that, in a short time, he took entire possession of the city. Three thousand prisoners, besides a prodigious number of artillery and howitzers, are reported to have been the fruits of this conquest.

A detachment from Custine's army, under the command of General Neuvigner, took possession of Worms, and the reduction of Spires almost instantly followed. They marched on from conquest to conquest with such astonishing rapidity, that the enemy found it impossible to secure their stores and ammunition, immense quantities of which fell, of consequence, into the hands of the victors. By authority of M Custine, the Bishop of Spires, together with the whole chapter, and the magistrates, were doomed to pay large contributions, for the benefit of the Republican troops. This victory only whetted the appetite of the General and his army for new actions of glory. He, accordingly, reached Mentz on the 19th of October; and, although the garrison at this place consisted of 6,000 men, the very next day he sent a summons to the Governor, commanding him to surrender. One day's indulgence only was required, for the purpose of preparing a definitive answer, and yet, in the interim, a heavy fire was kept up from the garrison: this conduct, of course, gave rise to a second, and more peremptory, message from M. Custine, which had the desired effect. The garrison capitulated, and the troops were permitted to march out with the honours of war; but under this express and positive condition, that they should never

more appear in arms against the French Republic during the continuance of the war. Frankfort was the next fruit of his martial career, of which he obtained possession on the 23d of the same month: a heavy contribution was exacted from the magistrates of this city, because it had been a most active place in contributing to the protection and assistance of the Emigrants; the sum demanded is said to have amounted to fifteen hundred thousand florins! If the strength and importance of these three places, with the very short time in which they were reduced, be attentively considered, perhaps no military achievements in the annals of history, were ever more honourable to the talents and conduct of any general whatever.

M. Custine's ambition was not satiated with his late rapid conquests, splendid as they undoubtedly were, for he intended to have marched on to Coblentz, had he not met with an unforeseen disappointment. Coblentz had been a sink of enmity against the French Republic, against which it was his resolution to have directed his vengeance, had he received the expected reinforcements, under the command of General Kellerman, of whose tardy movements he bitterly complained. He wished him to penetrate towards Treves and Coblentz, by the way of the rivers Sorre and Moselle, leaving behind him only a small detachment for the purpose of keeping a watchful eye over the motions of the Prussians. Kellermen exonerated himself from these charges, by declaring, that, since he was deprived of the co-operation of M. Dumourier, he and General Valence could muster no more than twenty-nine thousand men; a force, he well observed, totally inadequate to the task of forcing its way through an army of fifty-five thousand Prussians. As a farther vindication of himself relative to the accusations brought against him by Custine, he deemed it both treacherous and impolitic to leave the frontiers of France again open to the enemy.

General Custine, thus finding it impracticable to prosecute, with any hope of success, his favourite object,

continued in the pursuit of glory through the dominions of the Prince of Hesse. He was now doomed, however, to experience a reverse of fortune. About this period, the Prussians, Hessians, and Austrians, effected a junction, by which means it was impossible for him to terminate the campaign as he commenced it.

Meanwhile General Dumourier was about to make a more splendid appearance in the field of battle than ever. He went to consult with the Convention respecting the regulations required in the armies, and to place them on a respectable footing for the ensuing campaign. Such was the ardour of his mind in the pursuit of glory and victory, that he staid only four days at Paris in transacting this important business, after which he took his departure to join the army under his command. His first great object was the conquest of that part of the Netherlands which belonged to the house of Austria. Ever since the enemy were compelled to raise the siege of Lisle, they were invariably obliged to retreat before the victorious arms of the Republic; but when fairly beyond the frontiers, they resolved, if possible, to stop their career within their own territories. The first object, for this purpose, was to rally their whole forces, and concentrate their strength, as they had been scattered in almost every direction, while retreating before the French. This being accomplished, they resolved to act upon the defensive, and prevent the Republican commander from penetrating into their territories. Dumourier now found that the Austrians were seriously determined to put a period to his career; for at the small village of Bossu, where they had judiciously taken a most advantageous position, they shewed themselves disposed to dispute his further progress. An action commenced (4th November) between the hostile armies, and victory was not long in declaring in favour of the French. The Austrians at this place had between eight and ten thousand men, of which they lost one hundred and fifty killed, and two hundred made pri-

oners. The loss on the part of Dumourier was only twenty men. He acknowledges that his artillery was superior to the enemy, and that the impetuosity of his dragoons was not to be resisted.

At this time, it is proper to observe, that the Austrians had not the most distant conception of such a sudden attack from Dumourier. The officers, of consequence, had prepared a most sumptuous entertainment, like men after a victory, or who had nothing to fear, little apprehending that it was so soon to become the property of the French commander. His stay here was of short continuance, having more interesting achievements in his eye, and therefore he left Bossu on the morning of the next day, at an early hour. He marched on towards Mons, and speedily came in sight of the enemy's main force, which were posted on the ever-memorable heights of Gemappe. Their right was defended by the village of that name, and their left by a thick and almost impenetrable wood. This favourable situation, rendered, still more so by the assistance of the river Lorneau, and a strong fortification, containing three tier of cannon, in all about one hundred pieces of heavy artillery, seemed to bid defiance to the most formidable attacks, and might have inspired a commander with disinay, even to view it at a distance. But Dumourier's courage was proof against the insinuations of fear; and neither the dreadful roar of cannon, nor the tremendous explosion of shells, could diminish his fortitude. It rose superior to the most formidable opposition; his presence of mind never forsook him on the most trying emergency, and he had the happiness to command soldiers whose courage was equal to his own, although their skill and experience were unquestionably inferior. But the first qualification was all they required, with such a general at their head; they consisted principally of young men, full of fire and spirit, whose enthusiastic eagerness to have a close engagement with the enemy it was scarcely possible to restrain. Indeed,

it was neither the wish, nor the interest of the General, to check it altogether. He was inwardly delighted to behold it, and all the apparent restraints he laid upon it, were only intended by him to augment its vehemence: as a river, if confined in its course, flows with redoubled rapidity when the opposing barriers are burst asunder, so the very shadow of opposition to the fervency of zeal, only makes its flames a thousand times more violent. As the situation of Dumourier was evidently disadvantageous, being stationed in a kind of valley, and the enemy on the fore-mentioned heights, he entertained no sanguine hopes of success from the use of his artillery, it being extremely difficult, if not impossible, in the hurry of an engagement, to point them with such accuracy as to do any material injury. The use of artillery in an open plain, and more especially directed against an enemy on an eminence, is, at best, but a random way of fighting, and of this the General was fully convinced after a three hours trial. Having spent the night of the 5th November within sight of the enemy, a general engagement took place next morning, and a tremendous cannonade continued till ten. It now appeared manifest to Dumourier, that nothing decisive against the enemy could be effected by the artillery, which he admits was equal to that of the Austrians, on which account he determined to abandon the use of them for the present, and dispute the matter at the point of the bayonet. On reviewing the troops which composed his line, he was glad to perceive, that the same impatient zeal which they had formerly evinced, continued unabated.

To facilitate the accomplishments of his main designs, he gave orders to Adjutant-General Thouvenot, to attempt the reduction of the village of Carignon, which it was necessary to gain, that he might the more successfully assail Gemappe from that particular quarter, while he informs us himself that a heavy fire of artillery was kept up on the enemy's right. The number of the French did

not exceed 30,000, while the Austrian troops are said to have amounted to upwards of 20,000, including 3000 cavalry—Other accounts say, the French amounted to 40,000, and the Austrians to 28,000. The van-guard, composing the right wing of the army, was commanded by Generals Dampierre and Bournonville, with whose military talents and determined attachment to their country the world is well acquainted. The centre division was entrusted to Stetenboffe, Desporets, Drouet, and Egalité, (the present Duke of Orleans), and of whom M. Dumourier spoke in terms of the highest commendation. This General was a man of cool valour, which is the more remarkable, as he was young, a period at which coolness and deliberation are not so frequently evinced as fiery intrepidity. The first redoubt, or tier of cannon, constructed by the enemy for their defence, was an easy conquest, and carried with little hazard or opposition. But by the multiplicity of obstructions, which now presented themselves, the Commander in Chief perceived that his centre division would soon be in danger, as the enemy were marching all their cavalry into the plain, for the purpose of flanking Dumourier's columns. This movement caused him to dispatch Lieutenant-General Egalité to form against this manœuvre of the Austrians; and having succeeded in this undertaking, he boldly led them on to attack the second tier of cannon. Fearing, that the force under the command of Egalité, would not be adequate to the task of carrying this redoubt, he opportunely came to his assistance himself, with the third regiment of chasseurs, and the sixth of hussars, which was not only a check to the enemy's cavalry, but a formidable foe, that threatened their entire destruction.

In the mean time Dumourier perceived Bournonville's cavalry to be in a state of confusion, when he went to visit the right wing, occasioned by the General's absence at the head of his brave infantry; and that now the first and second redoubts were in possession of the French.

The Commander in Chief soon rallied the disordered cavalry, who made a vigorous attack on that of the enemy, by this time approached to the right flank of the Republican army. Here they had no reason to boast of their success, for, although they used every effort to force the first battalion of the Parisian volunteers, they were received by them with the most determined bravery, and invincible fortitude, killing sixty of them at the first discharge.

Much about this time the left wing had got possession of the village of Gemappe, and the centre became masters of the second redoubt, as already mentioned. It was still necessary to bring the enemy to action on the heights, which was less spirited, and of shorter continuance than those that preceded it; for the triumphant career, the rapid and almost unprecedented successes of the Republicans in so short a period, had inspired the Austrians with consternation and dismay. The Commander in Chief found it impossible to express his satisfaction with the gallant conduct of his troops, and their generals, upon this memorable occasion. Although the men had been strangers to solid nourishment for the space of three days, and were incapable of making ready their soup on the day of this dreadful battle, they insisted, almost with a degree of irreverence, that they should be marched against Mons, which they were fully determined to carry by storm. M. Dumourier was under the necessity of promising them that satisfaction on the following day; and he was, no doubt, delighted to perceive that neither hunger nor fatigue could repress their ardour and intrepidity. His design was to draw a line of circumvallation round the city, and attack it in different quarters at once. But his formidable preparations were soon found to be unnecessary, for the panic-struk Austrians had evacuated Mons on the preceding night, leaving only a garrison behind them of 400 men, who also retreated about nine in the evening, locking the gates of

the city. Instead of requiring his batteries to bombard the place, as he had originally expected, he found the magistrates ready to invite him, the inhabitants having broken down the gates which were barricaded by the Austrians on their departure. General Dumourier, whose generosity and humanity were equal to his wisdom and military valour, on being presented with the keys of the city, made this reply: "that the French came as brothers and friends, to engage them to keep their gates constantly shut against their ancient oppressors, and to defend the liberty they had now acquired."

The battle of Gemappe was perhaps the most memorable ever fought, all circumstances considered, of which Historians have made any mention, and completely decided the fate of the Netherlands. The loss sustained by the Austrians on the 6th November, has been estimated at no less than 4000 killed and wounded, together with a number of prisoners, whilst the French had no more than 900 killed, according to Dumourier's own account, although it is probable that the disproportion was not quite so great. This day was also distinguished by some acts of individual valour, which will be remembered by the admirers of fortitude to the latest posterity. Baptiste, General Dumourier's valet-de-chambre, found means to rally and lead on to the charge five squadrons of cavalry, and two battalions of national guards, being the first himself who rushed in, sword in hand, to the entrenchments of the enemy, and completely dislodged them. The aid-de-camp appeared at the bar of the Convention, with dispatches from the General in Chief, and, like a true son of Mars, introduced himself in these words:

"I am only a soldier, and not an orator—the soldier "of a Republican army ought never to open his mouth "but to bite off the end of his cartridge; but I present "to the just admiration of the Convention, the brave "Baptiste, General Dumourier's valet-de-chambre, who

" forced the enemy, sword in hand, to quit their entrench-
" ments. The General having asked him what reward
" he wished for, he replied, the *honour* of wearing the
" national uniform."

While Baptiste approached the bar, the hall resounded with reiterated bursts of applause. He was three times embraced by Lieutenant-Colonel Loure, by whom he was introduced, which again occasioned the plaudits to be renewed, and the President thus addressed him:

" Brave citizen, you have raised yourself to the rank
" of a first defender of the French Republic; till you
" receive the reward which it owes you, enter the tem-
" ple of the laws, amidst our acclamations. The legis-
" lators are happy to find among them one of the brave
" conquerors of Mons."

The President then embraced him, and the whole scene terminated with demonstrations of satisfaction and joy.

General Dumourier determined to follow up these brilliant victories by penetrating still farther into the enemy's country; from Mons, therefore, he proceeded towards Brussels. The rear of the enemy's forces, to the amount of 10,000 men, he found posted on the heights of Anderlecht, three miles to the Westward of that city, under the command of the Prince of Wirtemberg: here he met with considerable opposition, which lasted for the space of six hours: the Prince, after experiencing a considerable loss in killed and wounded, thought proper to retreat and join the main body of the army, while the French Commander in Chief entered (14th November) the city in triumph. When M. Dumourier promised that he would hold his Christmas at that city, he was viewed in the light of a vain self-confident man, by such as were vastly inferior to him in military talents, and were not, as he was, perfectly acquainted with the actual strength of the enemy: he, in fact, was more than five weeks sooner than his promise.

About this period M. Labourdonnaye reduced Tournay,

Malines, Ghent, and Antwerp, whose gates were, successively, opened to him. General Valence took possession of Louvain and Namur, after a feeble opposition on the part of the Austrian commander, on the 2d of December, and the generals Biron and Miranda were equally victorious. The French fleet having sailed, entered the port of Ostend on the 15th of the preceding month; and thus, with the single exception of Luxemburgh, the Republicans were masters of the Austrian Netherlands before the termination of the year 1792. At this time Dumourier received proposals for an armistice from the Prince of Saxe Teschen, in behalf of General Clairfait; which he sent to the Executive Council, and returned a verbal message, that he should, in the meantime, continue the campaign. He next followed up his late rapid marches and conquests by pursuing the retreating enemy into the territory of Liege. He proceeded (21st November) with his advanced guard of 4,000 men, to Tirlemont, behind which city he found the whole army of the enemy encamped, its advanced guard consisting of between three and four thousand men.

Having got possession of Tirlemont, he proceeded, the next day, towards Liege, and on the 27th he again came up with the rear-guard of the Imperial troops, almost at the gates of the city, amounting to twelve thousand men, under the command of General Staray. A desperate and bloody contest ensued, in which the French were victorious, forcing the enemy to abandon no less than six different villages and an intrenchment! The Austrians lost in this engagement about six hundred men, including killed and wounded, together with their general, a prodigious quantity of artillery, a number of prisoners, and deserters. It cannot be said that this able officer, M. Dumourier, has been often equalled for military knowledge and exemplary moderation in the midst of victory; and, perhaps, it would not be hyperbolical to assert, that the rapidity of his career, during this campaign, stood, until

that time, wholly unparalleled in the annals of military tactics. With all his knowledge and amazing success, those who knew him best never called him proud; and, indeed, if we may form our judgment of this great man from his own Memoirs, he was extremely modest: as if studious to avoid egotism as much as possible, he speaks of himself in the third person, a hint which he, probably, borrowed from Julius Cæsar.

The design of this great general was, after his glorious triumph at Gemappe and the conquest of Belgium, to add to his laurels by subduing Holland also; and then, having reinforced his army with sixty thousand Dutch and Brabanters, to take the grand army of Austria in the rear; and, by commanding peace on the field of battle, enable France to settle her constitution and restore her internal tranquillity: but this patriotic design was overthrown by the evil spirit of the Maratists, who began to preach up the necessity of displacing the General, least he should gain a greater share of popularity than they deemed consistent with their new doctrine of equality. The war minister, M. Paché, acted under the influence of this faction, and promoted its diabolical machinations by his criminal neglect of Dumourier's army. The brave troops were destitute of the common necessaries of life, while immense sums were voted in the Convention for the purpose of granting them relief; their arms were nearly useless for want of covering from the rain; they had no beds, during that inclement season, on which they might repose; they were destitute of shoes and coats; and many of them, finding it impossible to make the wet ground their bed, tied themselves to the trunks of trees, and slept in a standing attitude! In this dismal situation it was no wonder if thousands of them perished with cold and hunger, and as many thousands deserted; neither was it astonishing to hear the general express himself in the following pointed terms: "To retard and crush my successes, the minister Paché, supported by the criminal

faction to whom all our evils are to be ascribed, suffered the victorious army to want every thing, and succeeded in disbanding it by famine and nakedness. The consequence was, that more than 15,000 men were in the hospitals, upwards of 25,000 deserted, through misery and disgust, and more than 10,000 horses died of hunger!"

So determined was the Jacobin faction to accomplish its projects, that they openly avowed (and Marat asserted it in his paper) that sixty thousand heads must be chopped off before the liberties of the country would be secured! and the doctrines applied to the generals were equally applicable to persons who might be distinguished on any account whatever. The turbulence and zeal of this faction created much uneasiness to the Convention, and it was thought proper to have a guard to protect their deliberations from violence and their persons from outrage; but the suggestion gave such offence to the desperadoes, that a deputation of Jacobins appeared at the bar, in the character of commissioners from the Municipality of Paris, and addressed the Convention in the following insolent manner: "We have come to tell you incontestible truths, and to remind you of sacred principles: a proposal has been made to you to assimilate yourselves to tyrants by having a guard around you.—*The sections of Paris declare to you, by us, 'That they will consider this project as audacious, and the execution of it dangerous, because contrary to the essence of a republican constitution.'* —Wait, Legislators! until the people have sanctioned the law, and learn submission by their example. If you should persist in this plan—consult history."

This fine specimen of oratory was frequently interrupted by the murmurs of the Convention, and, at last, entirely abridged; by the President's declaring to the Speaker, "That the Convention were willing to receive advice—*but not orders.*" and the petition was rejected by the order of the day. The Jacobins were not to be diverted from their purposes by a reproof; they ordered their petition

to be printed and sent to the 41,000 municipalities of France, and to those of the newly acquired territories in particular, with a view of prejudicing the whole country against a government that had not been tried a single month! Such were the passions, such were the vindictive rage of those volatile and giddy men, who pretended to be at once superior to the example of their ancestors and the council of their cotemporaries! Upon this occasion the Brissotine party obtained a great majority in the Convention for passing a strong censure upon the proceeding.

The situation of the factions toward each other was similar to that of Herod and Pilate, when their animosity was suspended by the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. The Brissotines had the government, the Jacobins the passions of the mob; and the Orleanites the means of corrupting the partisans of both by money: their power was so equally counterpoised, that, notwithstanding their consummate hatred of each other, their rancour remained boiling in their own bosoms, and impetuously exerting its efforts to vent itself, without effect, until its vehemence became two powerful for restraint; and then, by its own malignant sympathy, it effected a wicked union betwixt them all to renew their persecution against their feeble King, whom they had conquered and subdued, and who was, wholly defenceless, within their power. The cowards commenced their attack by passing judgment upon him on the very ground upon which they assented to the motion for bringing him to trial; which was, that "a decree of accusation should pass against the principal *traitor*, Louis XVI.;" indeed, he was generally spoken of, in all their addresses and debates, as Louis the Traitor; and in this spirit they commenced a process of assassination, which they endeavoured to conceal by shrouding it under the mock forms of a trial. Of this proceeding posterity cannot fail to form an accurate judgment, when it learns, that the Convention resolved to be both the

accusers and the judges of the King; that this Convention consisted of men, the great majority of whom were his avowed enemies and persecutors; and many of whom had, by their writings, declared, that they would never relax their endeavours to overthrow the monarchy, let the conduct of the Monarch be what it might! The utmost effort of candour can only allow; that some of the members might be *less* criminal than the rest: but not a single member of the Convention could have been guided by a sense of honour or justice, otherwise he would have scorned to have been a juryman on the trial of a defendant against whom he was himself the plaintiff. Many of the members, however, endeavoured to preserve the appearance of rectitude, by the fine speeches that they made about justice: yet, when Manuel moved, that whoever might undertake the defence of Louis should be placed under the safeguard and protection of the law, they only answered him *by murmers and hootings;* and those who did undertake to defend him, they sent to the scaffold!

One obvious omission, that cannot fail to be noticed by every observer, is, that amidst all the solicitude of the Convention to secure the *good opinion of Europe*, they took no pains to assure any of the foreign ambassadors, at Paris, of the authenticity of the documents or the evidence they produced; and they even refused to let any of the courts, related to the Royal Family, interfere in its behalf. The documents upon which the trial principally proceeded, were found in an iron chest, said to have been concealed in the King's palace; but no person was present at the discovery who did not act under the orders of the Convention; and those documents, unauthenticated as they were, formed the evidence upon which Louis was to be proved guilty of having conspired against the constitution, by the very people, who (according to the declaration of the author of *The Rights of Man)* only tolerated the constitution until they could find a fair pretence of superseding it by a republican form of government!

On the 11th of December the King was brought to the bar, and was allowed to choose M.M. Deseze, Tronchet, and Malesherbes, to defend him. The trial lasted thirty-four days; and then, being persuaded that they had played the farce of solem decency long enough, the Convention pronounced him *Guilty!* Whoever is desirous of forming a clear opinion of these iniquitous proceedings, will do well to consult the trial, and, particularly, the defence of Deseze, every word of which proved the innocence of the accused and the guilt of the accusers.

It is but justice to say, that the same unanimity did not prevail, as to the sentence, as with regard to the verdict. The Brissotines being less sanguinary than their antagonists, were so satisfied with having obtained his power, that they had no wish to rob the King of his life; whilst Orleans and Robespierre were determined to be satisfied with nothing short of his blood. A dispute of the most violent nature ensued, in which the members exchanged blows, and it was impossible to preserve order: during the struggle the mob in the galleries took part against the Brissotines; and Petion, who had conducted them through all the mazes of insurrectional crime, now found himself hooted, as the partisan of tyrants, for desiring them to stop *a little way short of the last plunge* into moral turpitude.

The constitution which those impostors pretended to support, had expressly declared the King's person to be inviolable, and, therefore, had provided no punishment for any crime, supposing him to have been guilty: it had even declared him incapable of committing any crime, by placing all the power in the hands of his ministers, and making them responsible; and, consequently, the Convention had no more authority to deliberate upon punishment than a banditti of robbers has to cut the throats of peaceable travellers.—But, having violated every principle of equity, it cannot afford the least surprise that these men paid no regard to law.

January 14, 1793, being the day appointed for the final consideration of this important Trial, various modes of putting the question were proposed; and, after a debate, which lasted till ten at night, the Convention decreed, that each member, being called by name, in the order of his department, should answer Yes or No to the following questions:

I. "Is Louis guilty of conspiracy against the liberty of the nation, and of attempts against the general safety of the state?

II. "Shall recourse be had to the appeal to the people before inflicting punishment?

III. "What punishment shall he suffer?"

In voting on the several questions it was decreed, that the answer of each member should be entered after his name; that this List should be printed and sent to the eighty-four departments; and that absent members should be allowed to give their opinion on their return to the Convention.

The first question was then put to the vote:

"Is Louis guilty of conspiracy against the liberty of the nation, and of attempts against the general safety of the state?"

One of the Secretaries called over the names, in the alphabetical order of the Departments; and the general answers were to the following purport.

Rouset.—My opinion is indivisible—I vote that Louis and his family be imprisoned till the nation pronounce definitively on his fate, or at least till weighty circumstances authorize us to determine on it.

Lanjuinais.—Yes; but I am not his judge.

Boudran.—I declare for the affirmative on a letter of M. Laporte, which proves that Louis was in concert with the conspirators against liberty.

Vandelicourt.—I stand here as a Legislator; I will not assume the office of a Judge in criminal matters.—The whole tenour of my life forbids me.

Laland.—Neither Yes nor No.

Osselin stated various facts respecting the pensions allowed by Louis to his guards, although disbanded, and composed almost entirely of persons who were not only known emigrants, but even employed at Coblentz, or in the armies of the enemy. These facts came within his own personal knowledge; and he answered—Yes.

M. Egalite.—Yes.

Danton.—Yes—I affirm he is.

Comte.—As a Legislator—Yes. As a Judge, I have nothing to say.

Montaiguat—Yes—Louis is more than guilty.

Faure.—Founded on the part of the Constitutional Law, which treat of the royalty, I say, Yes.

Delahaye.—To question whether or not Louis be guilty, is to question whether or not we ourselves be guilty. On the walls of Paris I have seen written, in the blood of our brothers—*Louis is guilty.*—Yes

Morisson.—I cannot pronounce on any of the questions.

Noel.—I had a son who has fallen in defending his country. I do not think that a father, weeping for his son, can be the judge of him who is charged with being the author of the loss he is lamenting.

Maure.—Yes, in my soul and conscience.

Coren-Fustier.—Yes, by mission, by convocation, and by a fraudulent abuse of the royalty.

Valady.—I cannot pronounce, because I was not elected a Judge. I reserve myself for the third question to pronounce as a statesman.

Fauchet.—As Citizen, I am convinced of it; as Legislator, I declare it; as Judge, I say nothing.

Dubois.—As a Judge, I declare Louis guilty; but we ought to appeal to the sanction of the people.

Laumont.—I can never believe that the Convention have all powers vested in them; all the arguments to prove this, appear to me sophisms.

Lariviere.—I did never vote that the Convention should judge Louis, and I cannot vote now.

Doulcet.—I vote for the safe custody of Louis and his

family, till the termination of the war; take care that he may have no successor; and when the war is terminated, let his fate be submitted to the people!

Meynard was of the same opinion.

Chambon.—I vote for the appeal to the people; I also vote that the abolition of royalty, and the establishment of a Republic be likewise submitted to the people.

Barailon.—I will be no judge; my conscience does not allow it.

Julien.—I am invested with unlimited powers; and as a competent Judge, I declare that Louis is guilty.

The names being called over, Vergineaud, the President, said, of 735 voters, 26 have been absent by leave; five by illness; one for cause unknown; 26 have made various declarations, and 693 have voted for the affirmative. I do declare, in the name of the Convention,

"*That Louis Capet is* GUILTY *of Conspiracy against the Liberty of the Nation, and of Attempts against the general safety of the State.*"

The second question was then put to the vote.

"Shall recourse be had to the Appeal to the People before inflicting punishment."

A great number of members assigned reasons for voting against the Appeal. Almost all of them seemed to dread it, as a source of civil war.

M. Egalite.—I think only of my duty, and I say—No.

Dussaux having voted for the affirmative, was insulted by a person in the galleries. Several members called for a Decree of Accusation; but Dussaux imploring mercy for the offender, the affair was passed over.

Clootz declared, that acknowledging no sovereign but the human race; that is, universal reason, and respectfully bending to its sacred will, he said—No.

Garnier, Rabaut, St. Etienne, and several others, observed, that those men could not be considered as deficient in courage, who voted for the affirmative, amid a people thirsting for blood, and said—Yes.

Barbaroux said, it was time for the French people to resume the exercise of their supremacy, to crush a faction, in the midst of which he saw Philip d'Orleans, whom he denounced to the whole Republic. He knew that he exposed himself to all their poignards, but as the life of man was uncertain, he thought it his duty to make this declaration.

The calling over of the names was not concluded till eleven o'clock. Twenty members were absent by leave; ten did not vote; three were indisposed; three were absent without known cause; 424 voted for the negative, and 283 for the affirmative.

The President declared,

"*The National Convention Decrees; that the Judgment which it shall pronounce upon Louis Capet, shall not be subjected to an Appeal to the People.*"

Previous to the third question being put, several members observed, that as the Convention wished to exercise the functions of Judges, they ought to adopt the form generally used, of not condemning an accused person, but by a majority of two thirds of the votes.

Danton said, that as the Convention represented the people, they ought, like them, to decide everything by an absolute majority. This majority, he added, was sufficient for declaring war;—that is, for condemning to death many thousands of men.

After some debate the Convention determined, that the majority should be simple, that is, that *one* should be a majority.

At a quarter past seven at night, the Convention proceeded to the *Appel Nominal* upon this question.

"What Punishment ought to be inflicted on Louis Capet?"

Maihle, who voted first, voted for death, and requested at the same time, that the Convention would take into consideration, whether they ought to retard, or to hasten that punishment.

Gensonne, after having demanded that they should apply to Louis the punishment awarded to high treason in

the criminal code, expressed his desire, in order to prove to Europe, that the representatives of the French people made no exception in favour of any guilty persons, that they should give orders for the ministers of justice to prosecute the assassins of the second of September. This proposal of Gensonne did not intimidate the sanguinary faction to which he alluded.

Some members voted for death, and the execution of the sentence within four-and-twenty hours; among these were Marat, Roberspierre, Danton, Chabot, Robert, Fabre, D'Eglantine, Beutabole, Le Gendre.—" Why, said this last, are not all the heads of Kings on the shoulders of Louis Capet?—I would cut them all off at one stroke."

Others voted for death with this restriction, that the Convention should open the discussion on the question of the expediency of retarding or accelerating the execution of the sentence—among them were, Mailhe, Treillard, Gaudet, Vergniaud, &c.

Others voted for imprisonment during the war, and then banishment; among these were, Manuel, Dussaulx, Salles, Rabaut, Louvet, Charles Villette, Thomas Paine, &c.

Salles said, " all we have left is the choice of the evils, which threaten our country—fortunately Louis XVI. leaves after him a man, who, of all others, is the fittest to disgust us with royalty."

Gensonne, in voting for death, proposed that the sentence should not be executed, unless the assassins of the 2d of September were brought to justice.

Some members in voting for the death of Louis, demanded the expulsion of the Bourbons—among these was Barbaroux, who swore immortal hatred to the whole race.

A member proposed, that within four-and-twenty hours a tribunal be formed for the trial of the two brothers of Louis, and that their judgment be executed in effigy with that of Louis XVI.

Condorcet, said,—I do not vote for death, as I never shall give my voice for it: I do not vote for imprisonment, because I am a Judge, and the sentence of imprisonment is to be found in no law; but I vote for the discussion of the most important point after the sentence of death; whether it will be expedient to defer or accelerate the execution of the sentence.

Forty-six members had voted that Louis should be put to death, of which number ten demand an examination of the question, whether it would not be prudent to delay that punishment?—Among these were Mailhe, Guadet, Vergniaud, and Gensonne.

Thirty-four voted for the imprisonment of Louis, and his banishment after the peace.

Ysabau.—It is as much repugnant to my character as to my principles, to pronounce sentence of death against any man, except a tyrant, for a tyrant appears to me not to be a man. At present it is not I who pronounce that sentence but the law. This shall be the first and the only time of my life, that that terrible word shall proceed from my mouth; for I should not continue in existence had my country another king to condemn. I vote for the punishment of death.

Destigoyte.—I will not enter into any composition with tyrants. I vote for death, and speedy execution of the sentence.

Garran de Coulon.—I am of opinion, that we cannot exercise, at the same time, the functions of Accusers, Judges, and Jury. The people did not delegate to us the right of pronouncing without their ratification. I consider it to be tyranny, when men place themselves above that ever sacred law, the sovereignty of the people. I respect the opinions of those who entertain sentiments different from mine, but I cannot adopt them.

Chabot.—I vote for death, because Louis has been a tyrant; because he is still one; and because he may again become so.

Louvet.—I vote for death, but with this express modification, that the execution of the sentence shall not take place until the people have sanctioned the Constitution which you are about to present to them.

Pons de Verdun.—Louis has gone beyond the bounds of his constitutional inviolability. I see the same difference between those crimes provided for by that Constitution which he first annihilated, and those of which he has rendered himself guilty, as between poisoning and assassination. As he has exceeded the measure of the crime, the punishment incurred should be the greater. The King, as an individual, has placed himself, in regard to punishment, on a footing with unprivileged conspirators, for in regard to criminality he has been always privileged. He is more criminal than they. Should this be a reason for treating him with less severity? The rights of man loudly exclaim against such injustice. They would reproach me with disguising it under the name of policy; with covering it under the pusillanimous pretence of false incompetence; and with weakness, should I suffer myself to be frightened with vain phantoms. Louis has been accused by the whole nation of having conspired against it. We have declared him guilty. My conscience bids me open the penal code. It pronounces against Louis the sentence of death, which several of his accomplices have already suffered.

Cambaceres.—The National Convention, in my opinion, ought to decree that Louis has incurred the punishment pronounced by the law against conspirators. The execution of this Decree, ought, however, to be suspended till the cessasion of hostilities, when the Convention, or the Legislative Body who shall succeed it, may finally determine respecting the fate of Louis, who, in the mean time, should be kept in confinement. But in case the enemies of the Republic shall invade the French territories, the Decree ought, that instant, to be put in execution.

J. B. Lacaste, Du Cantal.—The tyrant, while alive, is

like a light-house to our internal and external enemies; when dead he will be a terror to the combined Kings, and to their satellites. His ghost will disconcert the projects of traitors, put an end to faction and disturbance, give peace to the Republic, and, at length, destroy those prejudices which have too long disturbed mankind. The tyrant has been declared guilty of the greatest of crimes—of attempting to enslave the nation. The law pronounces death against such an attempt. Submissive to the law, I vote for death.

Roberspierre.—Because you have established yourselves the Judges of Louis, without the usual forms, are you less his Judges? You cannot separate your quality of Judge from that of Legislator. These two qualities are indivisible. You have acknowledged the crimes of the tyrant. It is your duty to punish them. No consideration should make you hesitate respecting the punishment reserved for the greatest criminal that ever existed. I vote for the punishment of death.

Danton.—I am not one of those statesmen who know not how to determine but from political considerations. I am a Republican, and do not hesitate respecting the choice of the punishment reserved for Louis the Last. You ought to strike a terror into tyrants by an inflexibility of character. I vote for the punishment of death.

Manuel.—Some have spoken to us of the Romans. Their example has been cited; but ought we, can we dispense with acknowledging this eternal truth, that the right of death belongs only to nature. Had Louis been brought before ordinary Judges, they could not have avoided pronouncing the punishment of death; but we, representatives of the people, who are not bound to consult a penal code, ridiculously atrocious—we, whom the nation has sent to discover error, and to proclaim truth, do not hesitate to say, that the life of a man, though criminal, is not at the disposal of the society. I vote for the imprisonment of the tyrant during the continuance of

the war, in that place where the victims of his despotism languished; and for his expulsion when peace shall be secured.

Robert.—I vote for death; and if any regret remains to me, it is, that my competence does not extend to all tyrants. I would condemn them all to death.

Freron.—Were it possible that the majority should determine for his imprisonment, I would move that a veil might be thrown over the bust of Brutus. I vote for death.

Osselin.—I regret that the laws of my country pronounce the punishment of death against those who are guilty of great crimes. The tedious punishment of imprisonment for life would be much more beneficial to society. But as the law has not yet been changed, I vote that Louis be put to death.

Barrere.—The tree of liberty does not flourish, unless moistened with the blood of Kings: I vote for death.

Egalite.—Those who have made, or may make attempts against the sovereignty of the people, deserve death. I vote for death.

Sillery.—My constituents have not delegated to me the absurd power of being both accuser and judge. I cannot, therefore, in this cause, exercise the functions of both these characters.—Besides, I am convinced that the restoration of Royalty will become impossible if *you* preserve the life of Louis. His son cannot become dangerous while educated under the ignominy of his father. We are continually told of a powerful faction—a faction who aspire at tyranny. Let that faction be shewn to us, and we will combat them with courage. I vote for the confinement of Louis.

Lasource.—I have delivered my opinion in writing. Louis must either reign or be put to death. If the Convention have not the courage to strike the first person who may dare to shew ambitious views, it will be handed down to posterity, covered with opprobium. I vote for death.

Isnard.—I declared in the Legislative Assembly, that were my hand armed with thunderbolts, I would hurl them against the first man who might dare to make any attempts against the liberty of my country. I vote then for the death of Louis; but as his brothers are no less criminal than he, I demand that they may be tried within twenty-four hours, by some tribunal which you may appoint, in order that they may be executed in effigy by the side of the late King.

Goupilleau.—I vote for death, but to avoid disturbance, I desire that it may not be deferred one moment.

Poulain Grandpre.—I vote for death under the express condition, that it shall be deferred till the people have accepted the Constitution, unless our enemies shall have entered the French territories.

Quinette.—I pronounce death! and I here solemnly engage to pronounce the same sentence against all those who may attempt to violate the liberty of my country.

Jean de Brie.—I pronounce the death of the tyrant, because I consider his death as the death-blow to faction.

Condorcet.—I declare that no circumstance, except the present, could induce me to pronounce sentence of death against any one. I request that the severest punishment, next to death, may be inflicted on Louis; but in case death shall be pronounced against him, I request that the political consideration presented by Maihle, viz. 'Whether the punishment ought to be accelerated or retarded?' may be discussed.

Lakanal.—A republican is a man of few words. The motives of my opinion are here [*laying his hand upon his heart*]. I vote for death.

Barbaroux.—I vote for the death of the tyrant. In a few moments, I shall vote for the expulsion of his family.

Ducos.—At a time when I am about to pronounce on the fate of Louis, the *ci-devant* King, my duty to my constituents and to my conscience, requires that I should declare those principles which have directed my judg-

ment and opinion. I never thought that the National Convention ought to judge Louis. I never doubted that they had a right to do so; but I thought it was not proper for them to exercise that right. They decreed, that they would try him. Had a sense of my duty, and of my incompetence, rejected that decree, no power on earth could have forced me to have executed it. It was repugnant only to my opinion, and my opinion was silent before that of the majority. I voted against submitting the sentence to the sanction of the people, because this appeared subversive of every principle of representative government under which I wish to live and die; for it is clear to me as demonstration, that there can be no liberty but under such a government; and because the people cannot at the same time preserve and delegate the exercise of their powers—have representatives and be unrepresented. With regard to the forms employed in conducting this business, I am of opinion they have gone beyond the usual rules. As the trial ought to have gone beyond them, on account of the singular state of the accused, and the particular nature of the accusation, I thought it necessary to examine whether they were conformable to the laws and usages of the tribunal; but if they were sufficient to convince me, the division of the judiciary functions into those of accusers, jury, and judge, by the law, is at once a precaution, and means taken by society for the better administration of justice—this division however is not justice. Justice consists in a just application of law to facts. This is what I ought to look for in the present trial. I declare that the extraordinary state of the accused could alone make me conceive and approve the extraordinary form of the sentence, which ought to be singular, as the cause is which it is about to determine. I declare besides, that if the Convention should wish to pass sentence against a common citizen, by employing the same violation of forms, I should consider it as criminal and tyrannical, and I should denounce

it to the French nation. Citizens, it evidently appears to me, from an attentive examination which I have made of the conduct of Louis during the course of the Legislative Assembly, and from the papers found either in the Thuillerries, or at the house of the Intendant of the Civil List, that Louis, the *ci-devant* King, is convicted of having conspired against the general safety of the state, and against the liberty of the nation; and that he, consequently, ought to undergo the punishment appointed by the penal code for crimes of that nature.

Citizens, to condem a man to death, is of all the sacrifices which I have made to my country, that alone which ought to be accounted as any thing.

Villete.—I vote for the confinement of Louis as an hostage of peace. He is overturned amidst the ruins of the throne, and will now close up every avenue to it.

Anacharsis Cloots.—In the name of the human race, I vote for the death of Louis.

Thomas Paine.—I vote for the provisional confinement of Louis, and for his expulsion after the war.

Brissot.—It would have been desirable that the punishment to be inflicted on Louis should have been pronounced by the whole nation. It would have been the best method of carrying along with us the sentiments of neighbouring nations, and of defeating the projects of the tyrants of Europe, who desire the punishment of Louis, in order to excite, with more success, indignation and hatred against the National Convention. But as the Assembly have thought proper to reject the appeal to the people, I am now of opinion, that the only way of avoiding the dangers which threaten us, is to pronounce the punishment of death against Louis, and to defer its execution to the moment when the people shall have sanctioned the Constitution which we shall present to them. I know that, in some sense, the opinion which I deliver may be calumniated; I have only to offer, in reply to my enemies, my honourable poverty. The moment, perhaps,

is not distant, when I shall bequeath it to my children; but while I live, I will exert myself, with all my power, for the maintenance of order; without which, a republic can only be a combination of ruffians. I declare, as a man who has a profound knowledge of our success, of our resources, and of those of the powers who threaten us, that we have nothing to fear from kings, and their satellites; and I add, that if we do not destroy that system of disorganization which has raised its audacious head, the Republic is lost.

The *Appel Nominal* being terminated at six o'clock, Salles, the Secretary, presented himself at the tribune, to read letters. Several members demanded what those letters were? The President said, that the first was from the defenders of Louis Capet; and the second from the Spanish Ambassador*.

* *Letter from the Chevalier d'Ocariz, Charge d'Affaires from the Court of Spain to France, Addressed to the President of the National Convention.*

"The new orders which I have received, and the urgency of the circumstances, authorise me not to omit any means in which I can manifest the anxiety which his Catholic Majesty feels on the occasion of the trial which is so near to end, and in so fatal a manner, to the unfortunate head of his family. I therefore take the speediest opportunity, to repeat to you, in his Majesty's name, his instant solicitations, and his most ardent entreaties, to the French nation and their representatives. I think that the new consideration which I am going to lay before you, will appear to you to deserve a particular attention; I entreat you to communicate them to the National Convention. I am convinced that the French people are destined by their character, and by the nature of the situation of the country they inhabit, to preserve a great existence in Europe, as well as vast relations with other countries, and that the Assembly of their Representatives cannot quite have shut their ears against all reflections of political prudence which have been offered to them by several of their members. I shall not presume to add to them: but, Sir, the importance of the cause, and the interest which the King

Garron demanded, that the Convention should pass to the Order of the Day, with respect to the letter from the Envoy of Spain; but that they should hear the defenders of Louis Capet, because, at every period of a cause, the defenders of a criminal have a right to be heard.

Danton.—I am astonished, that any one should speak of hearing the defenders of Louis, before the result of the *Appel Nominal* is proclaimed. Your Decree ought to be proclaimed in the first instance; and if afterwards, I consent that the defenders should be heard, it is, because it is possible that they may have some new pieces to present; for that is the only circumstance, which can legally sanction their conduct. With respect to the Ambassador of Spain, I do not believe that any human power can think of influencing you. Were the majority of my opinion, war shall be declared against Spain for the meditated harangue of her Ambassador. I am persuaded, that in a conflict with Europe, in order to be conquerors, it is necessary that we should be aggressors. I already think that we are in open war with Spain. She has refused to acknowledge the representatives of the people, and now

of Spain takes, and ought to take in it, is such, that I hope I shall not be disowned by his Majesty, when I come to entreat you, by this Letter, to obtain from you the time to desire his intervention and good offices to establish peace between France and the other Belligerent Powers. If this step, being at the same time useful to the French, could also soften and meliorate the fate of his unhappy relative, I may confidently expect the approbation of his Majesty, that in the manner in which my offer shall have been excepted, the King, my master, shall think himself bound and engaged to enter into negotiations, the success of which will be so important to humanity. I very ardently wish that the proposal I am making, may be accepted of, and in the case it should, I require no more than strictly the time necessary for the going and return of a courier.

"I have the honour to be, with the sentiments of the most distinguished consideration,

(Signed) "The Chevalier D'Ocariz."

she attempts to impose upon us conditions. Let us reply as becomes the dignity of the French people. Let us tell her that the soldiers who conquered at Jemappe will still conquer, and will destroy, if necessary, all the Kings of Europe, after having condemned their own. Such is my opinion.

Gensonne.—The defenders of Louis Capet ought not to be heard till the Decree shall be pronounced. As to reading the official letter of Spain, I demand that the Assembly will treat it in a manner worthy of itself, by passing to the Order of the Day. We declared war against the Emperor, because he interfered in our internal government.—What can the King of Spain mean? The Letter in question must contain either demands, menaces, or offers of mediation. Let us consecrate our independence by declaring that we will hear no piece which comes from foreign powers.

The Assembly closed the discussion by passing to the Order of the Day on the letter of the Envoy of Spain.

Roberspierre opposed the admission of the defenders of the accused. The Assembly decreed that they should be admitted, after the result of the *Appel Nominal* should be proclaimed.

Garand demanded of the Assembly to decide what should be the nature of the suffrages of those who had voted for death with restrictions? He thought that their opinion for death ought to be reckoned a formal opinion, with a reserve for a further discussion on the proposed restrictions.

This opinion was adopted.

The President announced, that he was going to proclaim the result of the *Appel Nominal.* The most profound silence prevailed for several minutes. He then said:

The Assembly is composed of seven hundred and forty-five members—one of these is dead, six indisposed,

two absent without cause, and censured in the minutes conformable to the decree, eleven absent upon commissions, and four who do not vote, making, in all, twenty-three members who have given no opinion. The number of votes is thus reduced to seven hundred and twenty-one. In order that there may be a majority, it is necessary that there should be a union of three hundred and sixty-one suffrages. Twenty-one members have voted for death, with the demand of a discussion on the period of his execution; one has voted for death, with the reserve of its commutation or delay; two for death, not to be carried into execution till peace, unless in case of an invasion of the French territory, in which instance, to be inflicted within twenty-four hours after such invasion has taken place; two for chains; three hundred and nineteen for imprisonment and banishment; three hundred and sixty-six for death!

When the *proces verbal* was read, containing the answers of all the members to the question, *What punishment shall he suffer?* even the blood-hounds of the Convention were confounded with horror, when they heard that Philip Egalité, Duke of Orleans, the King's own relation, and the only relation whose word had the least influence with the people, had voted for DEATH!

There appeared on the roll a majority of five only for the sentence of death. When the fatal decision was clearly ascertained, the President, in his official capacity, with a solemn tone of voice, and with his head uncovered, said:

"I Declare then, in the name of the Convention, that the punishment which it pronounces against Louis Capet is—*Death!*"

The three Defenders of Louis Capet were then admitted to the bar. One of them, Deseze, said:

"Citizens, Representatives, the law and decrees have intrusted to us the sacred function of the defence of Louis.

We come, with regret, to present to you the last act of our function. Louis has given to us his express charge to read to you a letter, signed with his own hand, of which the following is a copy:

LETTER FROM LOUIS.

"I owe to my own honour, I owe to my family, not to subscribe to a sentence which declares me guilty of a crime with which I cannot accuse myself. In consequence, I appeal to the Nation, from the sentence of its representatives; and I commit, by these presents, to the fidelity of my Defenders, to make known to the National Convention this Appeal by all the means in their power, and to demand, that mention of it be made in the minutes of their sittings.

"Given at Paris, the 16th January, 1793.

(Signed) "LOUIS."

Deseze then resumed his speech. He reminded the Assembly that the Decree of Death had only been pronounced by a majority of five voices, while the other part of the Assembly were of opinion that the safety of the country required another decision. He warmly conjured them to examine anew the question of Appeal, and to grant to humanity, to the interest of the State, all that justice might not seem imperiously to claim

Tronchet, another of the Defenders of Louis, protested against the Decree, by which the Assembly had declared that the sentence should be passed, like its other decrees, by an absolute majority. He demanded the repeal of the Decree, observing, that as the penal code had served as the basis of the opinion of those who had pronounced the punishment of death, the Assembly ought, conformably to that code, not to pronounce the punishment except by two-thirds of the voices.

Lamignon Malasherbes, the third Counsel of Louis, begged the Convention to allow him till to-morrow to present some observation on the kind of majority, which

to him seemed necessary, before sentence should have been pronounced. He regretted that he could not speak extempore with sufficient facility to enable him to explain his ideas.

The President informed the Counsel that the Convention would take their requests into consideration, and invited them to the honours of the sitting.

Merlin, of Douay, refuted the objection made by Tronchet, by saying, that the penal code required a majority of two-thirds, not for the application of punishment, but for the declaration of facts; and that the law, in regard to punishment, required only an absolute majority.

On a motion made by Roberspierre, the Convention decreed,

I. "That the Appeal interposed by Louis Capet is null, being contrary to the rights of the people, and to the power of national representation; and that all citizens are forbidden to support this Appeal, under pain of being punished as disturbers of the public tranquillity.

II. "That there are no grounds for attending to the remonstrances of the Counsel of Louis in regard to the nature of the majority which passed sentence upon him."

The discussion of the question, Whether it would be proper to suspend the execution of the sentence, was adjourned to next day.

The Convention rose at eleven at night, after a sitting which continued thirty-six hours.

Thursday January 17, *Gasparin* asserted there had been some mistake in the manner of proclaiming the result of the *Appel Nominal*. The number of Deputies is supposed to have been 745, and this number, indeed, was fixed according to the principles of the National Representation; but the junction of Avignon to France introduced a change, in virtue of which the departments of Bouches-du-Rhone and La Droma named three Deputies more, which ought to raise the number to 748. I de-

mand that the Secretaries may be ordered to inquire into the cause of this inaccuracy.

Salle.—The verification demanded by the last speaker may be easily made. We need only again collect the votes in the same manner as we did yesterday.

Lacroix.—It appears that the votes were not properly collected. I move that they may be collected again. This is the more necessary, as one of the members of the Convention is said to have voted for imprisonment, when in reality he voted for death.

Andre Dumont.—I am the member alluded to. All my colleagues heard my opinion. I know not how the Secretaries came to make the mistake.

Lesage, one of the Secretaries. We made four lists of the votes, and in every one of them Dumont is marked down as having voted for imprisonment.

Loysel.—Citizens Dumont voted for death. This I can testify, for I inserted his vote as such in a list which I made. I am of opinion that this is not the only error committed, and I put no faith in the result declared by the Secretaries.

Salle, one of the Secretaries. If any error has been committed, we must rectify it. I shall only observe, that the fidelity of the Secretaries cannot be suspected; for the majority is not contested. It is, however, of importance, that the real majority should be known.

Thuriot.—The list of votes ought to be sent to all the departments; but it should be first carefully revised. I move the list taken yesterday may be now read, that its errors may be corrected.

Lasource.—I move, that the list of votes may be read over aloud, that the vote of each Deputy may be mentioned with his name; and that those who have any observation to make may speak.—Adopted.

Salle, one of the Secretaries, having then proceeded to read over the names of the Deputies, and the words in which each delivered his vote and opinion.

Gensonne said,—I voted for death, but to prove to all Europe, that the condemnation of Louis, is not the work of a faction, I requested that the Convention would deliberate, after sentence should be passed, on the measures of safety to be pursued respecting his children and family, *and that they should enjoin the Minister of Justice to prosecute, before the proper tribunals, the assassins of the 2d and 3d of September last.*

Several members, when their names were called over, gave some explanations on the meaning of their expressions in delivering their votes; most of them, however, were unfavourable to the accused. When the Secretary called the name of

Kersaint, who had not voted for death, he requested leave to explain his opinion; but being interrupted, he announced that he meant to give in his resignation, and that he would communicate his motives in writing.

Petion.—I voted for death without any reserve, but I requested the Convention to discuss the question of deferring the execution of the punishment.

The Secretary having called over all the names in the list, *Breard* moved,

I. "That the Secretaries should retire, and make out a copy of the minutes, that it might be presented to the Convention to-morrow at the opening of the sitting."

II. "That the Convention should order an Address to the people on the trial of Louis Capet to be drawn up."

Thuriot.—I oppose the second proposition, as contrary to the dignity of the Convention, and to the glory of the French people; since it would, on the one hand, represent the trial of Louis as an illegal act, which had need of being justified; and would, on the other, be supposing that a number of the French people were partizans of the tyrant. I move, that the Secretaries shall immediately present the exact result of the *Appel Nominal*, and that the

Convention shall not separate, until they have determined on the respite demanded in favour of Louis.

Tallien.—I second this motion from motives of humanity. Louis knows that he is condemned; would it not be barbarous to suffer him to remain long in the horrible agony of suspense?

Lepaux.—I vote dagainst an appeal to the people, and for the death of Louis. I do not wish that the present discussion should be unnecessarily lengthened; but, on the other hand, we ought not to precipitate the decision of so important a question. I move that the discussion may be immediately opened, without fixing a period for its being closed, with a reserve, however, to decide afterwards, whether we shall come to an immediate determination, or wait till the members of the Convention have taken some repose.

Couthon.—I request, in the name of humanity, that Tallien's motion may be adopted. Louis is informed of his fate, every moment of delay is a punishment, and, to many people, such a punishment would be worse than death. Every sentence in criminal cases ought to be executed in twenty-four hours. I well know, that by this grand example of justice, we shall draw down upon our heads the fury and vengeance of tyrants; but these reflections have no weight here; and such is the service we render to humanity, that we tear aside the veil, give to the people of all nations an idea of their force, and, by striking off the head of Louis, strike all tyrants. I support then the motion of Tallien, and request that the following article may be added to the sentence of Death, viz.

"The Executive Council shall immediately send the present Decree, by express, to the eighty-four departments. It shall be executed in the *Place de Carousel*, and an account of its execution shall be delivered in twenty-four hours."

Roberspierre.—We have voted for the death of the

tyrant—we must no longer think of negotiating with tyranny. I cannot allow myself to imagine that there is in this Convention a single man who will refuse to participate in the glory of that courage by which we shall secure the admiration of posterity!! With regard to the question of a respite, I think you ought to set it aside through humanity. If you do not determine in the course of this sitting, I request that your utmost delay may only be an adjournment till to-morrow.

Chambon rose to speak, but several members with loud vociferation, demanded that the discussion should be closed. A considerable noise now ensued, upon which the President put on his hat and silence was restored.

The Convention closed the discussion, and the President announced that the principal question was, whether the further discussion should be adjourned till to-morrow?

The previous question was called for upon this motion, but rejected.

The main question being then put to the vote, the President, after declaring that the adjournment till to-morrow was carried, quitted the chair and retired.

A great number of members remonstrated against the manner in which the question had been carried, and said, it was doubtful whether it had been carried.

The members who sat on the right of the President, quitted their places, and advanced into the middle of the hall; while those on the left sat still and endeavoured to enforce silence.

After some noise, Lacroix, the Ex-President, took the chair, and said—"Since the sitting is closed, I no longer acknowledge the Convention. If you wish to deliberate, you may choose another President. I declare that I will preside no longer."

Couthon.—Citizens, we have no right to deliberate. The Convention have just decreed an adjournment till to-morrow. This decree seems to have been passed by a majority; but our country suffers, and when it is in dan-

ger, its representatives ought to be at their posts. For my part, I declare I will remain here, as if the sitting were pernament.

A great number of the members called out—"We also will remain," but the members on the right side quitted the Convention.

After some moments of permanence, Couthon said, "Citizens, I was the first who proposed to you not to quit this hall, because our country is in danger. As I perceive, however, that this measure may disturb the city of Paris, and occasion an insurrection, I think it will be more prudent to retire during the night, and to agree that we shall, early to-morrow, open the sitting to determine this important affair. The result of this step will be, that the citizens in the gallery will retire and announce that public tranquillity has not been interrupted."

Roberspierre.—To interrupt our permanence, is not the only service we can render our country. Let us not conceal that there is a plan formed for withdrawing the tyrant from the punishment pronounced against him by the law. If you be not upon your guard, citizens, a faction will oppose the salutary example which you wish to give to nations. Louis will be privately put to death, to prevent him from being exposed on a scaffold. I conjure you, then, to pursue the necessary measures for avoiding this insult to the national sovereignty, and for insuring the execution of the decree which you have passed. I swear, that I shall be in this seat at eight o'clock to-morrow morning, to demand, that the Convention will determine, without delay, on the respite claimed in favour of Louis.

It was now announced, that the Commandant General was in the hall. Being invited to mount the tribune, he said, "The greatest tranquillity prevailed in Paris; that a considerable body of troops would maintain it; and that the people seemed to be in the best disposition."

After these observations, the members agreed to separate for the night.

Several members announced that a report was spread of attempts having been made to set fire to the apartments of the late King. They however added, that they had been perceived time enough to prevent any bad consequences.

At eleven o'clock on Saturday, January 19, the sitting had not opened, on account of the absence of the President and the Secretaries. It was demanded that they should be censured; but the President, Vergniaux, was exempted on account of being indisposed, and the two Secretaries appearing, declared, that their absence had been the necessary consequence of the multiplicity of business with which they had been charged for four days. The Decree of Censure was repealed.

Chodieu.—I move the Order of the Day.

One of the Secretaries read the list of the members who were to speak.

Leonard Bourdon demanded, that, without entering into an useless discussion, they should immediately proceed to the *Appel Nominal.*

Valaze.—Several members have proposed to demand a respite, and, without doubt, will fix different periods. I wish for no other delay in the execution of the sentence of Louis Capet than till the expulsion of his family from the territory of the Republic. I move that the discussion open as was decreed yesterday.

Marat.—I am impressed with indignation to see agitated in the Assembly a question already decided. It is a contest of the minority against a decided majority. I demand that the Assembly decree that there is no room to deliberate on the question of delay, and that the tyrant be sent to punishment within twenty-four hours.

Pons de Verdun.—The question proposed to you to-day has been already completely discussed. You have seve-

ful times taken up the question of delay upon political considerations, and likewise in the discussion on the appeal to the people, and that which preceded the last *Appel Nominal;* so that they propose to you to recur to a question which has been already three times decided. They propose to you to entail upon yourselves, with respect to foreign nations, the scandal of having pronounced sentence of death before you had examined whether, upon political consideration, it ought to be executed.

Gensonne.—I approve of the opinion of Pons; but if it is not proper to occupy a long time in the discussion of the delay, at least it is necessary to take the measure calculated to ensure the general safety, before we carry into execution the sentence of death. The Convention ought to summon to its bar the Constituted Authorities, in order to obtain information whether the state of Paris gives reason to apprehend any disturbance, if the execution should take place within twenty-four hours. It is proper to provide for the security of persons and property, and particularly to put under the protection of the laws the children of the condemned sufferer; for the execution ought not to dishonour the National Convention. I demand, then, that the information which I require on all these points be immediately ordered.

The Assembly closed the discussion on the proposition of passing immediately to the *Appel Nominal,* and passed to the question of delay.

A letter was received from Manuel, complaining of the conduct of the Convention, from whom he said, a disorderly band, by the sole talent of making a noise, took away all power of doing good. By your conduct, continues he, you have exposed France, and such as you are (the truth escapes me) yes, such as you are, you cannot save it. He concluded with giving in his resignation, as having it no longer in his power to be useful at his post. He would henceforth, he said, by his writings and examples,

devote himself to the education of children, as the Revolution wanted nothing but men.

Buzot, who spoke first on the question of a respite, represented the personal dangers which threatened those who approved of a delay: he was insensible to such considerations. The Assembly, in order to abridge the trial of Louis, had been compelled to neglect some customary forms. This deficiency of forms, which, in the present moment, was of little consequence, might be matter of serious reproach to the Convention, with posterity; if, by the delay, they did not prove that the whole of their proceedings had been influenced by justice, and not by precipitancy. I conclude, said he, that the execution of the sentence of death, be deferred till the expulsion of all the Bourbons. If you do not remove the persons connected with the tyrant, you will soon have a King. It is not enough that Louis singly perish. If you do not exterminate the faction who might give him a successor, you are undone.

Thuriot.—In vain they affect the purest patriotism; they wish to serve royalty: the decree is passed; it must be executed. They tell you to dread the resentment of the departments against an improper majority. But have they forgot that all the members of this Assembly, are agreed with respect to the crimes of Louis? They are forced to confess, that the city of Paris has but one opinion in regard to the tyrant, and yet they insinuate doubts of the dispositions which may be testified in the sequel. No—I am not afraid to say, there is not one Parisian who is not ready to shed his blood for the execution of your decree. Paris does not wish for a new despot. What then is this strange system of sacrificing all the Bourbons?—sacrificing those who have done nothing against their country, while they have not the courage to speak to you of those infamous men who conspired against liberty; and, while they knew all the crimes of the tyrant, attempted to save him. I conclude with

demanding, that Louis be executed within twenty-four hours, and that the Executive Council be charged to take the measures necessary to ensure the public safety.

Barbaroux.—It is evident, that if the French Republic perishes, the establishment of liberty in Europe, will be retarded several centuries. They are little acquainted with the politics of courts, who think that the death of Louis will furnish a pretext to foreign powers for declaring war against us. When Kings have the means and a desire to make war, pretences are never wanting. The execution of the sentence ought to be hastened for many considerations, and I think the expulsion of all the Bourbons is a measure of general safety. I vote then for the execution of the sentence, and move, that before the definitive sentence be pronounced, the Convention shall pass sentence of banishment against all the Bourbons.

Condorcet.—Whatever course you pursue, there are, doubtless, dangers which you cannot avoid. I think I can prove that, for the dangers of respite, there are sufficient remedies, or remedies which may, at least, lessen them. Hitherto we have only had to combat Kings, and armies attached to the cause of tyrants by severe discipline. The people have remained in a state of uncertainty, the effect of which has been favourable to us. Kings are endeavouring to instigate them against us; to gain their end they will take advantage of the execution of Louis, and they will succeed if you are not on your guard. Let us prove to the whole world that we are not barbarians: and that if we wish for the death of the tyrant, we wish also for the happiness of mankind.—Let us strike the *ci-devant* King, but let us abolish the punishment of death for all private crimes, and reserve it only for treason. Let us hasten to revise our system of taxation, to establish beneficent laws, to form a system of public instruction, and to meliorate the management of our hospitals. We may then answer tyrants, if they reproach us with the death of Louis; and we may rest assured, that with such

dispositions he may then be executed without danger in twenty-four hours.

Brissot.—Such has been the influence of the French Revolution, that at London, Vienna, Berlin, and everywhere, great deference is paid to public opinion. It is consulted, it is feared, and attempts are made to corrupt it. The public opinion of Europe is of more importance to us than armies. In this state of things, the immediate execution of Louis must be very unfavourable to us. There are in Europe two classes of men. The first, consisting of philosophers and friends of liberty, will not see the necessity for the death of Louis, and will think that a great nation ought to disdain sanguinary vengeance. The other, composed of the slaves of prejudice, will consider the punishment of a King as the greatest of crimes—and both will unite to condemn us. On these considerations I vote for a respite till the new constitution shall be ratified. If you pursue another course, you must declare war against England, Spain, and Holland. Give an example of moderation, and a revolution will be accomplished throughout all Europe.

Legendre.—I found my opinion on the sacred rights of nature. On the 10th of August every man had a right to kill the tyrant. Vengeance has been deferred, in order that a grand example might be given to all nations. The hour of justice is now come—the head of Louis must fall on the scaffold. I am against all respite.

Thomas Paine appeared at the tribune, but as he was not fully acquainted with the French language, Bancal read a translation of his opinion; which was expressed in the following terms:

My hatred and abhorrence of monarchy are sufficiently known; they originate in principles of reason and conviction, nor, except with life, can they ever be extirpated; but my compassion for the unfortunate, whether friend or enemy, is equally lively and sincere.

I voted that Louis should be tried, because it was

necessary to afford proofs to the world of the perfidy, corruption, and abomination of the monarchical system. The infinity of evidence that has been produced, exposes them in the most glaring and hideous colours. Thence it results, that monarchy, whatever form it may assume, arbitrary or otherwise, becomes, necessarily, a centre, round which are united every species of corruption, and that the *kingly trade* is no less destructive of all morality in the human breast, than the trade of an executioner is destructive of its sensibility.

I remember, during my residence in another country, that I was exceedingly struck with a sentence of M. Autheine, at the Jacobins, which corresponds exactly with my own idea, 'Make me a king to-day,' said he, 'and I shall be a robber to-morrow.'

Nevertheless, I am inclined to believe, that if Louis Capet had been born in an obscure condition; had he lived within the circle of an amiable and respectable neighbourhood, at liberty to practise the duties of domestic life; had he been thus situated, I cannot believe that he would have shewn himself destitute of social virtues; we are, in a moment of fermentation like this, naturally little indulgent to his vices, or rather to those of monarchical governments, we regard them with additional horror and indignation; not that they are more heinous than those of his predecessors, but because our eyes are now open, and the veil of delusion at length withdrawn; yet the lamentable, degraded state; to which he is actually reduced, is surely far less imputable to him, than to the Constituent Assembly, which, of its own authority, without consent or advice of the people, restored him to the throne.

I was in Paris at the time of the flight, or abdication of Louis XVI. and when he was taken and brought back. The proposal of restoring to him the supreme power struck me with amazement; and although at that time,

I was not a French citizen, yet as a citizen of the world, I employed all the efforts that depended on me to prevent it.

"A small society, composed only of five persons, two of whom are now members of the Convention, took, at that time, the name of the Republican Club *(Societé Republicaine.)* This society opposed the restoration of Louis, not so much on account of his own personal offences, as in order to overthrow the monarchy, and to erect on its ruins the Republican System, and an equal representation.

With this design, I traced out in the English language certain propositions, which were translated, with some trifling alterations, and signed by Achilles Duchetelet, actually Lieutenant-General in the army of the French Republic, and at that time one of the five members which composed our little party; the law requiring the signature of a citizen at bottom of each printed paper.

The paper was indignantly torn by Malouet, and brought forth in this very room as an article of accusation against the person who had signed it, the author, and their adherents; but such is the revolution of events, that this paper is now revived, and brought forth for a very opposite purpose;—to remind the Nation of the error of that unfortunate day, that fatal error of having not then banished Louis XVI. from its bosom, and to plead this day in favour of his exile, preferably to his death.

In the case now under consideration, I submit the following propositions:——1st That the National Convention shall pronounce sentence of Banishment on Louis and his Family. 2nd That Louis Capet shall be detained in prison till the end of the war; and at that epoch the sentence of banishment shall be carried into execution.

Barrere.—The last member who was heard, delivered a long speech with great warmth, and concluded with voting against the delay.

The discussion being closed, the Convention proceeded

to the *Appel Nominal* on the question, *Whether the execution of the sentence passed against Louis Capet should be delayed?*

Several members wished that the term of the delay to be voted upon should first be decided.

Legendre observed, that the first question should certainly be, whether there ought to be any delay, and that the Convention could afterwards easily fix the term.

Some members when they voted wished to assign their reasons, but this was opposed by the Convention, and the members were permitted to pronounce only, YES, or NO.

When the *Appel Nominal* was terminated, the President announced, that, after calling over the votes upon the question, What punishment should be inflicted on Louis? and after the explanations given by several who had voted for death with restrictions, it was found that the sentence of death pronounced yesterday upon Louis, had been carried by a majority, not of *five*, but of *twenty-seven* votes.

The President then declared the result of the *Appel Nominal* on the question, *Whether the execution of the sentence should be delayed?*

Of 748 members, 17 were absent by commission, 21 from sickness, 8 without any assigned reason, 12 did not vote, 310 voted for delaying the execution of the sentence, and 380 against delaying it.

The Convention then ordered their decree to be immediately notified to the Executive Council, with orders to give an account to-morrow; at eleven o'clock, of the measures taken to put it in execution within twenty-four hours!

This council of executioners consisted of Roland, Claviere, Monge, Le Brun, Paché, and Garet, who commanded the execrable Santerre to secure 1,200 of the most bloody ruffians of Paris, armed each with sixteen rounds of shot, to surround the carriage of the helpless

Monarch, and by noon on the 21st to drag him to the scaffold.

After the cowardly wretches of the Convention, had passed the bloody decree, their consciences haunted them, with imaginiary dangers, and most of the sitting of Sunday the 20th, was occupied in recounting their fears of dangers, and conspiracies.

One member proposed an adjournment until Tuesday. The adjournment being put to the vote, it appeared doubtful whether it was carried in the affirmative or negative, and a violent tumult ensued, which at length became so great, that the President was obliged to put on his hat.

Order being at last in some measure restored, Barrere opposed the adjournment, which was rejected by the Convention.

The Minister of Justice desired to be heard, and said,

"The Executive Council met this morning for the execution of your decree; summoned to attend the Commissioners of the Directory of the Departments, the Mayor, the Commandant General, the Public Accuser, and the President of the Criminal Tribunal of the Department of Paris. After having concerted some measures with them, the Minister of Justice, the President of the Council, another member, and the Secretary of the Council, accompanied by two members of the Department, and the Mayor, repaired at two o'clock, precisely, to the apartment of Louis. As President of the Council, I said to him—Louis, *the Executive Council has been charged to notify to you an extract of the minutes of the sittings of the National Convention of the 15th, 17th, 19th, and 20th of January.* The Secretary of the Council read the extract to him, as follows:

Article I. "The National Convention declares Louis Capet, *last King of the French,* guilty of a conspiracy against the Liberty of the Nation, and of a crime against the general safety of the State.

II. "The National Convention declares, That Louis Capet shall undergo the punishment of *Death*.

III. "The National Convention declares, That the act of Louis Capet, brought to the bar by his Counsel, and termed an Appeal to the Nation on the sentence passed against him in the Convention, is null; and forbids every person from giving it authority, on pain of being prosecuted, and punished as guilty of a crime against the general safety of the Republic.

IV. "The Temporary Executive Council shall notify the present Decree, within the day, to Louis Capet, and shall take the necessary measures of police and safety, to secure its execution within *twenty-four hours*, reckoning from the notification, and shall render an account of the whole to the National Convention immediately after its execution."

When the Secretary had finished reading, Louis made a reply to us, nearly to the same effect as the contents of a paper, which he drew from his port-folio, and delivered to us. I answered, that the Members of the Council then present would withdraw to deliberate on his demands; and not being able to come to any resolution by ourselves, we returned to lay them before the Council, who, after hearing them read, resolved that they should be communicated to you. They are as follows:

"I demand a delay of three days, that I may be able to prepare myself for appearing before God; I demand, for this purpose, to be permitted to see, freely, the person whom I shall point out to the Commissioners of the Commons; that this person may be secure from all fear and from all uneasiness, for the act of charity which he shall perform to me.

"I demand to be delivered from the perpetual inspection which the Council General has established for some days past.

"I demand, during this interval, leave to see my family

when I shall desire it, and without witnesses. I could wish that the National Convention would consider, with all speed, of the lot of my family, and permit them to retire, freely and conveniently, wherever the Convention shall think proper.

"I recommend to the benevolence of the Nation, all the persons who were attached to me; there are many of them who expended their whole fortune on their situations, and who having no longer any appointment, must be in necessity, and even some of them who had no means of living but their appointments. Among the pensioners are many aged persons, women, and children, who had no other means of subsistence.

(Signed) "LOUIS."

"At the Tower of the Temple, Jan. 1793."

As we were retiring, added the Minister, he delivered a note to one of the Commissioners of the Commons, in a hand-writing different from his own, containing the name of this man of charity (i. e. Confessor); it is M. Edgeworth, or de Fermon, No. 483, Rue du Bacq.

The Convention decreed, that Louis should be allowed to call whatever minister of religion he might think proper, and to see his family without witnesses.

They authorised the Executive Council to inform him, that the Nation, always great and always just, would attend to the lot of his family.

Respecting the demand made in favour of those who depended on him for their subsistence, the Convention passed to the order of the day, because such persons had a right to appear, and to request payment, or some other indemnity, if debts are due to them.

They passed also to the order of the day, on the demand made by Louis, that the execution of the sentence might be delayed three days.

The Assembly then passed to the order of the day, on the demand of Louis, to be freed from the perpetual inspection of the Council General.

The Minister of Justice observed, that Commissioners of Inspection always remained in an apartment contiguous to that of Louis.

The sitting rose at five o'clock.

After this, the Provisionary Executive Council made the necessary preparations for the Execution. They immediately issued the following

PLOCLAMATION:

Jan. 20, 1793, Second Year of the Republic.

The Provisional Executive Council, deliberating on the measures to be taken for the execution of the Decree of the National Convention of the 15th, 17th, 19th and 20th of January 1793, enacts the following regulations:

I. The execution of the sentence of Louis Capet shall take place to-morrow (Monday, Jan. 21).

II. The place of execution shall be *La Place de Revolution, ci-devant Louis* XV. between the Pedestal and the *Champs-Elisees*.

III. Louis Capet shall set out from the Temple at eight o'clock in the morning, so that the execution shall take place at noon.

IV. The Commissioners of the Department of Paris, the Commissioners of the Municipality, and Members of the Criminal Tribunal, shall assist at the execution; the Secretary-Register of the Tribunal shall draw up the minutes, and the said Commissioners, and Members of the Tribunal, as soon as the execution is over, shall come to give an account to the Council, who shall continue in a state of permanent sitting during the whole day.

During the night of the 20th, Paris was illuminated, and no person whatever was permitted to go abroad in the streets. Large bodies of armed men patroled in every part of that immense metropolis; the noise of coaches ceased, the streets were deserted, and the city was buried in an awful silence. About two o'clock in the morning of the fatal Monday the 21st, voices were heard at intervals, through the gloom, of lamentation and distress; but whence they proceeded, or what they were, no person has been able to discover.

This circumstance, among many others, terrified the people. The unhappy Monarch passed all Sunday in preparation for his approaching change. His calm resignation, and patience, displayed great eminence of soul; but the meeting and parting of his family was a scene too painful, too distressing to the feelings of humanity! The Queen hung round the neck of her departing husband in delirious anguish; the Princess Royal grasped his hand; the Dauphin embraced his knees; and Madame Elizabeth bathed his feet with the torrent of her tears. The Queen was at last removed from him in a state of insensibility, from which she did not revive before two o'clock on Monday afternoon. The King exhibited on this sad spectacle, all the tenderness of a husband, a father, a brother; and, appearing more affected by the affliction of persons so dear and so beloved than by his own misfortunes, consoled them with the most soothing words. Having passed through this trying scene, he now applied to his religious duties, and prepared to meet his God. The conversation which he was permitted to hold with his Confessor, it is said, was pious, sensible and animated; and his hope was full of immortality. He protested his innocence, and forgave his enemies from his heart. The clocks of Paris, at length, sounded eight on Monday morning; and he was summoned to his fate. He issued from his prison, and was conducted to a coach belonging to the Mayor of Paris, in which were too soldiers of the *gendarmerie*. He was attended by his Confessor, and assisted to step into the carriage by one or two of the sentinels, who stood at the gate of the Temple,

The place appointed for the execution was filled with an immense multitude of people, and large bodies of horse and foot were drawn up to awe the multitude. The most awful silence prevailed, while the coach was advancing slowly towards the scaffold. Louis ascended it with heroic fortitude, with a firm step, and undismayed countenance. He was accompanied on the scaffold by his Con-

fessor, and two or three municipal officers. For a moment he looked around upon the people, with a complacent countenance, and he was preparing to address the spectators, when, the ruffian Santerre, cried out, "No speeches! come, no speeches!" and suddenly the drums beat, and trumpets sounded. He spoke; but all the expressions that could be distinctly heard, were these:

"I forgive my enemies: may God forgive them, and "not lay my innocent blood to the charge of the nation! "God bless my people."

The Confessor fell upon his knees, and implored the King's blessing, who gave it him with an affectionate embrace. The unfortunate Monarch then laid his head upon the block with admirable serenity, and ceased to live in this world! Previous to his execution, he wrote to the National Convention, requesting to be buried near to his father, in the cathedral of Sens, situated in the department of Yonne, 82 miles South-south-east of Paris, and 35 West-south-West of Troyes, capital of the department of Auby. The Convention passed to the order of the day. He was buried in the cemetery ground of the new Magdelain, about 800 feet North of the place of execution, and the grave filled with hot lime.

Thus perished a Prince, whose reign had been marked with fewer instances of oppression than those of sovereigns in general. Nations, who invoke this example as a terrible lesson to kings, will do well to take advantage of the practical inferences that it offers for their own instruction; if it proves that kings are exposed to the just vengeance of the people, it proves equally clearly that the vengeance of the people *is not always just!*" Nations have an undoubted right to punish a tyrant, who places himself above the law; but no individual is capacitated to give an opinion upon such a subject, unless the whole of his *own* conduct is regulated by the law.

"Louis the XVIth fell" says a cotemporary writer,

" in the 39th year of his age, and the 19th of his reign; and with him fell the monarchy of France, which, under three dynasties, had existed nearly fifteen centuries. So strong, at the time of his accession, was the general sentiment in his favour, that he was greeted with the title of Louis the Desired. Nor, though afterwards branded with every term of obliquy, did he ever merit the hatred of his subjects. In some measure he resembled Charles the First of England, to whose history he paid great attention. Charles, however, maintained, with vigour and by arms, a contest of some years duration; and, when at length overcome, uniformly refused to acknowledge the authority by which he was arraigned. He lost his crown and life, but he preserved inviolate the reputation of active courage and unconquerable spirit. Louis may, perhaps, with more propriety, be compared to the Sixth Henry. With greater abilities than Henry, he had, in some parts of his charaeter and situation, a strong similarity to that monarch. Both were pious; both diffident of themselves, and, therefore, easily swayed by others; both espoused princesses of elevated minds; both were deprived of their thrones by their subjects, and both perished by an untimely death.

" The understanding of Louis was much above mediocrity; he had acquired a vast fund of knowledge by reading; his memory was remarkably tenacious; and his judgment in arranging, combining, and applying, what his memory had retained, was often displayed in a manner that was highly creditable to him. On the relative state and interests of France and the European powers, his information was by no means inconsiderable. History and geography were two of his favourite studies. To the former he paid much attention; and such was his proficiency in the latter, that the detailed instructions to the ill-fated navigator, Perouse, were drawn up by his own hand: he was, indeed, supposed to be the best geogra-

pher in his kingdom. With some of the mechanical arts he was also well acquainted, and even, occasionally, practised them.

"In his moral conduct he was unimpeachable. Just, beneficent, a good husband, a good father, and a lover of his people; he would, had he lived in an age less turbulent, when the higher talents are not required in a ruler, have done honour to a throne. The faith in which he and his ancestors had been educated, he followed with sincerity and warmth, but without any mixture of ill-directed and uncharitable zeal. On the mercy and goodness of the Deity he relied with unfeigned confidence. That reliance afforded him consolation in the latter stormy period of his reign, and fortitude in the hour of death. His weakness resorted to it for support, and it enabled him to triumph over slander, captivity, and the grave.

"Louis yielded at those very moments when he should most vigorously have enforced obedience; when he should fully have asserted his authority, or abandoned life and authority together; passive courage he possessed, but not active.

"Yet even this had its rise in a fault; but it was a fault of so amiable a nature, that it can hardly be censured without pain. It arose from the extreme horror which he always felt of shedding human blood. Looking, however, to the situation in which they are placed, and the high purposes for which they hold that situation, sovereigns ought to consult, not their feelings, but their duties. Blind and indiscriminate mercy is, in its effects, the worst of cruelties. Humanity itself imperiously commands the punishment of those who wantonly and wickedly violate the laws on which social order is founded; and by giving a loose to the most violent passions of man, reduced him to a state of worse than savage nature, since it has all the bad qualities of savage existence without any of its virtues. The monarch is the guardian of the state, and the safety of the state is put to the hazard, when traitors are

allowed to conspire with impunity. Nor will the king who tolerates treason, long remain a king.

"The unfortunate Louis fell a victim to his ignorance of this truth. In his fall he drew down the greatest evils, not only upon his own country, but also upon a considerable part of Europe. The clemency cost the lives of the bravest, the wisest, and noblest characters of the times in which they lived; covered France with scaffolds and blood; shook, to their foundations, some of the oldest established governments; and involved others in total destruction.

"His fate will operate as a lesson to all sovereigns, and happy will it be for mankind, if the caution thus inspired, does not, sooner or later, degenerate into a gloomy and suspicious tyranny, which, under pretence of resisting innovation, may discourage all reform, and strike the surest and most deadly blows at the very existence of freedom itself. History must lament that he lived in an age, and among a people, when all the vigorous talents of a Henry the Fourth would not have been more than sufficient to preserve, unimpaired, the dignity of the Sovereign, and, by that dignity, the peace and welfare of his subjects."

THE END OF CHAP. XV.

CHAPTER XVI.

Roland resigns.... Assassination of Pelletier, by Paris.... Disagreements between the English and French Governments....France declares War against England....State of the two Countries....Frankfort, &c. retaken by the Prussians....Dumourier's Overtures rejected by the English Cabinet....Miranda besieges Maestricht....Breda &c. surrender to Dumourier....The French defeated in different Actions, by Clairfait, the Prince of Saxe-Cobourg, and the Archduke....Miranda retreats from Maestricht.

SCARCELY had they consummated their unhallowed project, when the short-sighted Republicans discovered, that in defiance of all their sanguine expectations, and their guilty labours, the Republic could not exist a single day. They had lived just long enough to foul their consciences, with the perpetration of the blackest crimes; and, at the moment when they thought to reap the wages of their guilt, they found their peace of mind exchanged for ceaseless chagrin and remorse. The minister Roland, immediately got his wife to write a letter of resignation for him, which he sent to the Convention two days after conducting the King to the scaffold; and, in the interim he made up all his accounts, and declared his determination never to sit in the council again; because the members were guilty of misappropriating the public money. This weak man had imagined, that his party could allow torrents of injustice to roll on, just copiously enough to carry off the King, and then to dam them up with a simple command to go no further. They were not permitted to enjoy their mistake a single moment—if they had been making machines of the Jacobins, the Jacobins had been making tools of them; and, as it happens to all petty

transgressors, their *half-way* villainy only exposed them to contempt and derision. Instead of inquiring into the conduct of the council, the Convention accepted the resignation of Roland; and, though the minister of war, Pache, who had embezzled the supplies for the army, was obliged to remove, to appease that army, he had accomplices enough to procure him to be appointed Mayor of Paris.

The Brissotines, when they were convinced that their enemies had triumphed over them, and would finally trample them to destruction, fell immediately into all the vices that had been practised by the partizans of the Princes and despotism, and all the follies that had been practised by the partizans of La Fayette and liberty. They were too obstinate to sacrifice any of their own opinions for the sake of uniting with the better men, to drive out the worse, and they were too cowardly to unite their own powers with a determination to maintain their principles, or sell their lives as dear as possible; they therefore skulked, as it were, by various migration, from public view, with all the imbecility and weakness of abandoned and hopeless wretches, so that they gave the Maratists no further trouble than that of sending them to the guillotine one after another.

It would be unjust to accuse the whole of the parties with the same stupid apathy. Paris, one of the King's guards, boldly determined, that as the tyrants would not let him live a day after they should find leisure to pass the sentence of death upon him, it was a matter of little consequence whether he should die a few days sooner, or a few days later, and, therefore, he took the resolution of hastening his own death, by taking one of the assassins out of the world with him. Pelletier had been one of the most furious members in the Convention, in the tumult that ensued upon the King's trial, and had done his utmost to stifle the voice of justice. Paris therefore met him, and rewarded him for his crimes, by killing him

upon the spot. Paris shot himself, and the Convention pantheonized Pelletier. The thunderbolts of Jacobinical wrath were now preparing to scatter terror into every city, village, and hovel, that might be dissatisfied with its unjust rule.

Various reasons induced a great part of Europe to imagine that the power of France could not last long; for, in addition to the devouring troubles, by means of which she seemed to be committing suicide, upon herself, it was generally understood, that the Combined Powers had entered into a partition treaty, by which France was to be dismembered, and great part of her territories divided amongst the hostile powers; and one of the most powerful states of Europe, (England) aided by Holland, Spain, and Naples, had evinced a disposition to join the league.

The latter event was contemplated with so much more dread than any other of their calamities, that the Jacobins made it one of their most pointed charges against the Brissotines, that they had provoked the hostility of the English government, by the decree of fraternization, passed on the 19th of November, and the violation of the Scheldt, contrary to existing treaties between England and her allies; and the Brissotines themselves were so unwilling to stake the last remnants of their reputation upon the success of this measure, that they would gladly have rescinded the obnoxious resolutions, if the English government had conducted itself with anything like temper and discretion.

The conduct of the French government was marked by so much injustice and agression, that even its own partizans would have been ashamed of defending it, if they had been left at leisure to reflect; but the English ministry resorted to so many offensive and unnecessary measures of provocation, that it created an obstinate disavowal of its just complaints, which could only be pre-

served by its own foolish irritations. The administration happened, unfortunately, to be in the hands of a body of quacks, who fancied themselves capable of playing off the talents of great war-ministers, and they had been disappointed in several attempts to display their genius in this way; had they, therefore, suffered this opportunity to pass by unimproved, the great probability was, that another might not offer; and then, notwithstanding their *vast* abilities, they might be handed down to posterity with no more fame than some of their plodding predecessors. In vain did the executive council give such a commentary upon the decree of fraternization as would have defeated its end; in vain did they offer to leave the affair of the Scheldt as a matter of negociation between the Belgians and the Dutch. The passions of the English ministers would not allow them to discover that these shuffling concessions were all that could be expected from an understrapping government; which, having no real honour was obliged to preserve the semblance of it. The Pitts, the Grenvilles, the Dundasses, and the other *pseudo* great men, who acted with them, were not contented with having made the Convention contemptible and ridiculous, in submitting to have the whole spirit and intention of its decrees quibbled away: nothing would suffice, but these ephemeral legislators must *strive* to degrade themselves a little lower, by abandoning the form as well as the substance. The English government had so much false greatness, that though it had to do with furies, whose madness could only be calmed by soothing treatment, it chose to bluster rather than conciliate; and the consequence was, that the Convention pretended that this government was determined to go to war at all events, and therefore published its own declaration of war against both England and Holland on the 2d of February, 1793.

It may not be uninteresting to the reader, to trace the

motives for the eventful hostilities, as they are explained in the following reports and decrees of the Convention.

REPORT

of the COMMITTEE, *to the* NATIONAL CONVENTION, *on the* STATE *of the* FRENCH NATION.

"January 16, 1793."

"Your Committee has examined, with the deepest attention, the different advices addressed to you by your Minister for Foreign Affairs, the result of which is a perfect conviction in their minds, that

I. "The complaints of the British cabinet against France, are totally groundless.

II. "That on the contrary, the French Republic has well grounded causes of complaint against the Court of St. James's.

III. "That the interest and dignity of France require, that after having exhausted every means for the preservation of peace with the English Nation, you should decree the most rigorous measures for repulsing the aggressions of the Cabinet of St. James's."

"It is highly important that the English nation, misled by its government, and not by sentiments hostile to us, should be instantly undeceived. From respect to that fraternity which unites us, we owe to her a free statement of the manœuvres employed by it, and should we be forced into combat with her, then it is also important that every Frenchman in the day of battle, should be convinced that his arm is raised but in obedience and support of justice. These the first sentiments, excited by our Revolution, were not the same in the hearts of the ministry, and in the bosom of the people. The nation rejoiced, the parliament became anxious, but the court feared. But the clear and manifest opinion of the people tied the tongue of the Minister, and chained him down to an exact neutrality. The nation, a simple spectator of the disastrous scenes of war, improved her commerce; the Minister regarded solely the stability of his own situation by that prosperity arising from the enjoyment of peace, and therefore the Court did, in fact, most strictly observe that neutrality, until the immortal day of the 10th of August. The suspension of the King of the French changed the whole of its conduct; the Ambassador was re-

talled on the 17th, on the futile pretext, that his credentials were addressed to none other than the King himself. Henry Dundas, who continued to profess his determination not to interfere with our internal concerns, yet recalled an Ambassador; because of what? Of the Revolution of the 10th of August, thus formally announcing a disapprobation of the actions of our nation. Had the English Cabinet respected our independence then, at least it ought to have dispatched to us an Ambassador after the opening of the National Convention, when every department in France, by deputing members to that body, had most formally approved of the conduct of the Legislative Assembly and the suspension of the King. The English Cabinet could not then refuse to correspond with us, without a violation of its own recognition of independence of the nation, without belying its professed resolution not to interfere with their domestic concerns. The French disdained this diplomatic chicanery, and ordered their Ambassador at London to continue there his functions.

"The victories of Jemappe and Spires, the conquest of Savoy and Brabant, seemed to calm a little the diplomatic scruples of the Minister, he made some advances to your Ambassador, whom he had at first disdained; he pretended, he said, to know the ulterior intentions and objects of France; and he was answered by your Ambassador, and your Executive Council, with that frankness and moderation which can only characterise the agents of a free people. And thus an amicable negotiation was established in the months of October and November; *then* the English Minister *did not even complain of the opening of the Scheldt*, because the enthusiasm of the English for the French, at that time, saw nothing but a just homage paid to just principles by that act, and because they could also well reconcile that homage with their own commercial interests; and, therefore, the Minister, fearing for the invasion of Holland, gave such assurances to the Executive Council of France, as were calculated to promote mutual tranquillity. The Minister complained of the decree of the 19th; he represented it as an universal invitation and an excitement to revolt; the Executive Council gave him an explanation entirely conformable to his own wishes, and here it is remarkable, that Pitt had indicated to one of the

agents of France, in London, the very terms in which such an explanation was demanded as might satisfy the Cabinet of St. James's, and the Parliament; although that agent has not as yet been able to transmit that required explanation to the Executive Council: yet he had already received a note from the Minister of Foreign Affairs conformable to it in every point.—He also complained of emissaries and secret apostles from La Propaganda, and from our own Executive Council. The Minister for Foreign Affairs has, in this Assembly, most formally denied this injurious accusation, and observed, that it would be the height of folly to prodigalize our treasures to attain those objects which reason alone must ultimately and more surely consummate; and the English Minister, himself, allowed that such attempts were not very dangerous to England. In short, such was the disposition of that Cabinet, that, in the month of November, almost every difficulty was done away; and Lord Grenville, himself, began to acknowledge the government of France, which at first he had styled the *Government of Paris*. Some highly diplomatic scruples were still existing between that Ministry and our agents, for *serious* I cannot call them, and more so, because Lord Grenville declared, that the King of England would not be influenced by forms, if anything truly profitable and beneficial to both parties might be obtained by negotiation.

" Pitt, himself, testified nothing farther than a desire to avoid war, and to have proof of a similar desire on the part of the French; and our Executive Council gave credit to this apparent disposition, which, in fact, was dictated by no other motive than fear. On a sudden the scene changed, the King proclaimed, embodied the militia, convoked the parliament, marched the regular troops to London, fortified the Tower, and crowded its batteries with cannon; And against whom and what were these immense preparations destined? Forsooth against the Rights of Man, the work of Thomas Paine. The Minister announced that that work had turned the head of every Englishman, that a revolutionary sect had formed a design to overturn the established Government, and replace it by a National Convention, which sect was intimately connected with the Jacobins of Paris. He called for succour to every zealous and

good Englishman; he fulsomely panegyrized the English Constitution, and to prove the goodness of it, he threw into prison every author and printer who dared to disagree with him; and, as if the whole of this ministerial artillery had been too impotent to sweep away these unfortunate revolutionists, he established, in every town, clubs of pensioners, preaching up the excellence of their Constitution, the detestability of all reform, and inculcating universal abhorrence of our Revolution.

"The result of these measures exceeded the most sanguine hopes of the Minister. The creatures of the Court, the nobles, the Priests, the rich proprietors, the stockholder, and in short, every man who subsisted by old abuses, did coalesce with the most astonishing rapidity; they inundated the daily papers with their publications of attachment, and such a shock did they give to the public opinion, that, in a few days, all England was at the feet of the Minister: and to the esteem and admiration of our Revolution, succeeded the most implacable hatred. Such was the artful conduct of that man, anxious for the fate of that aristocracy which governs England under the shadow of royalty. He dreaded to find imitators of our actions in his own country, and he knew that he must first embroil the two nations, before he could *popularize* the war.

"The way to this object was simple and lay before him. Amidst a people long associated, and many of whom are in easy circumstances, a very general attachment was natural to its Constitution.—Although there be not an Englishman who is not intimately convinced that the English Constitution hath radical vices, that the corruption of the government is boundless, yet every one wills a reform without a convulsion. Can you reform the Constitution, can you touch it without this risque? —Such was the deadly and freezing poison which harrowed up the soul and courage of every man, and with the more effect, since both that ministry, and our emigrants, blackened and aggravated the picture of every calamity attendant on our Revolution. In such a disposition of men's minds—the *tocsin* of anarchy, and the cry that the Constitution was in danger, was more than sufficient for ministerial purpose; the placeman feared for his salary, the nobleman for his title, the priest for his superstition, the proprietor for his land, the workman for his

daily bread—and thus a conspiracy against every reform became universal.—When the public opinion is anticipated and garrisoned to this depth, reasón herself appears criminal, and gibbets and flames are loudly called for in the name of humanity to punish her.—Thus by that very people, old in the exercise of thought, old in their appeal to sound morality, the very rights of man are anathematized; and thus the supporters and asserters of them end, under that inquisition, which this people, with its eyes open, slanders by applauses and favours. From the criminality of the Revolution, to the necessity of a war with us, was but a step; and it was enough to say, that our decrees were the signals of revolt every where

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"By disseminating these calumnies against France, and more by falsely attributing to her the massacres of the 2d and 3d of September, the mind of every Englishman was warped from a just discernment and approbation of our conduct, and of his own interests.—The very Minister, who may lose his place; the trader who will lose his profits, and the labourer who will lose his daily bread; all, all have loudly voted for this war, in which, alone, they believe they see the preservation of their constitution.

"In such a situation was the public mind on the opening of Parliament. * There *chevaleresque* extravagance bore its part in that farce, the theatrical dagger in his hand. There, even members in the opposition, once friends to Fox, did not blush to prostitute themselves before a corrupt minister, and thought to conceal their desertion under a futile distinction of words only. Yes, those men, accustomed to raise their voice in favour of Liberty and of France, hurried on by the universal torrent, did incense to the Idol of the day; that Idol, which, in their consciences, they despise in secret, and would trample under their feet.

"In the midst of that panic, some men are at least entitled to an honourable exception. Fox, who dared to propose, and insisted on an Ambassador to France; SHERIDAN, who excul-

pated France from the charge of massacre and assassination, the criminal art of suborned villains; and ERSKINE, the intrepid advocate of Thomas Paine. Yet, in spite of their courage, the ridicule of this pretended conspiracy, which every man inquires for, and no one can find out; in spite of the perfidy of that Minister who promised reform, and now imagines that the enthusiasm of the nation will permit him to violate his promise with impunity. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * Sure of support in this war, he hath revived that old chicanery on the invasion of Holland—on the Decree of the 19th of November—on those pretended emissaries in pay by us. He hath even began to mention the Scheldt; but, above all, he has begun to show much more stiffness to your agents, much higher tone in his communications with you.

"It was under these circumstances that the Executive Council, on the 17th of December last, formally complained to the English Court on such conduct, and on its hostile preparations, and threatened to open the eyes of the people by a solemn appeal to them. The superiority of the loyal and free Republicans over the Courtier is evident in that correspondence, and the best justification of France, is also to be found in it. You have heard the answer of Lord Grenville to this note of Chauvelin.—Equivocation, obscurity, and the eternal repetition of already refuted complaints are the characteristics of it. Let us now examine what are the motives of the English Cabinet for war; and let us also state our own causes of complaint. The opening of the Scheldt is the first complaint on their part. We do not deny that it is contrary to the Treaty of Utrecht, and to all ensuing Treaties down to that of 1785, between Joseph II. and the United States, under the mediation and guarantee of France, the object of which was to assure to the Dutch the navigation of that river in exclusion of the Belgic nation. But ought France, pursuing the conquered successor of that Joseph, who had the baseness to sell the freedom of it for a few millions of florins—ought the Republic, in contradiction of those principles which direct its conquering arms, in violation of those of eternal justice, and whilst giving liberty to that country, to permit servitude to attach on its most fertilizing river? Since the Scheldt flows through Belgia as well as Holland, does

not the stream belong to the two nations in common? What title hath nature given to the Dutch for an exclusive property in it? Is it to their labours, to their industry, that the river owes its existence? Is it not the same Scheldt, which passing Zealand, hath first bathed in its water the walls of Antwerp? And, was it possible for a river, common to different nations, to become the property of one of them?—Would not the Scheldt more justly belong to the Antwerpers who possess it first, than the Dutch who receive it after them? Had Joseph a right to sell the property of the Belgic Nation? If the French Republic, in restoring to the Antwerpers the liberty of the Scheldt, hath torn in pieces treaties made between tyrants; what does she more than vindicate the true principles of property? Her conduct is at once both just and magnanimous; and who can say not disinterested? To accuse her, as Lord Grenville hath done, of aspiring to be the arbitress of all people, and reformer of all treaties, is to generalize as falsely, and as basely to calumniate an honourable action. Far be from the Republic such pretensions. She restores liberty to the subjects of her enemies, whom Kings, after conquest, would enslave or sell. But shall the Cabinet of St. James's be the first who declaim and complain; she who holds Holland under the yoke of the Stadtholder, because the Stadtholder is under her own tutorship. She who prostitutes the character and power of a great nation, of a nation which professes to cherish liberty, but for the purpose of enslaving another to obey its caprices, and eventually to promote its own corruption—the punishment of despotism is ever found in the re-action of it upon itself.

"Thus that Cabinet, which reproaches us as general reformers of all treaties, declares itself an enemy of natural rights, and of national rights.—For who is ignorant, or denies, that to guarantee the constitution of a Nation, is a real attack upon the rights and independence of Nations? Who does not know that the Stadtholder has sacrificed his country to the English court; that he sacrificed it during the American war, when he permitted the English with impunity, and contrary to the Treaty of 1664, to capture Dutch vessels laden with naval stores; that he sacrificed it in refusing to accede to the armed neutrality, in reducing the Dutch navy to the lowest state of

ruin and dispair; in sending forth her vessels as destined prizes to the English; and, in short, by prostituting the fortune, the fleets, and the honour of the United States, to them? Such was the value of the friendship of the English court to Holland. * * * * * * * * * * * *

"Well then, does it become the English court to boast of its attachment to its allies, when that attachment but covers the galling chains with which she loads them. That Treaty, which puts Holland under the yoke of the Stadtholder, and of the English and Prussian cabinet, is null in its own nature; but it is a treaty which the Dutch nation only has a right to break; and, therefore, France will in no wise infringe upon it. An attack by the Stadtholder on France, or the insurrection of *the majority* of that nation against him, are the only cases which could authorize France to carry thither her arms. They do not now exist; therefore France will not interfere; and if ever she does interfere, it will not be to substitute one tyrant for another, but to restore Holland to herself.

"This consideration ought to open the eyes of the English nation. As long as France was under despotism, England did right to oppose the extension of her influence on Dutch politics; that reason no longer exists; and, therefore, that opposition can no longer be supported by that reason.—France desires no influence over her neighbours; she would open a free market to the whole world, as accessible to the English as other people. France has also most formally notified this intention to the English court; and that cannot be disbelieved on any other principle, than that free nations have a versatile and faithless morality in common with tyrants.

"This ought to have been the candid interpretation of our decree of the 19th, by the English court; and how, indeed, could it ever have been imagined, that a nation, professing entire respect for the independence of nations, could be inclined to protect the discontented and factious in every country. A free people knows well how to distinguish insurrection from revolt; the well pronounced will of a great majority, from the partial will of a few individuals. To protect these against the majority, are protecting revolt, are acting unjustly, and a free nation will not, and cannot act unjustly. When she protects,

she protects openly, and leaves intrigues, dissemination of calumny, through the mercenary pens of stipendiary assassins, and all the dark path of despotism, to tyrants themselves, who only effect a respect for the tranquillity of nations, because such tranquillity can only insure their own. Such was the conduct of the English cabinet towards the Dutch in 1787, when it debauched the patriot soldiers, purchased the infamous Rhin Grave of Salm, and the Pensionary * * * * * *, and brought into play the King of Prussia. Such are its ordinary practices; such, however, as shall never sully the historic page of our Republic.

" Shall I recall to you other futile complaints of that Court; shall I repeat, that it laments the indecency with which we treat kings, when each house of Parliament are occupied with little but insolent invectives against the representatives and ministers of France—against those clubs which govern us, whilst the English ministry establish monarchical clubs, by whose support they can tyrannize, and exercise inquisitorial authority over the English and our brethren? That we have invaded Brabant—that we there give laws and constitutions like tyrants? Who first ravaged our innocent country—who but the tyrant of the Low Countries? How give we these laws and constitutions? Thus have we said to our generals, assemble the people, consult its will, protect it whilst manifesting that will, and respect it when manifested. Such, if this be tyranny, is our mode of tyrannizing.

" The Belgic Nation shall alone form its constitution; we will only tie up the hand of the Austrian Emissaries during the formation of it, and that revolutionary power shall cease as soon as their liberty shall be established.

" Shall I urge, that we are accused of pillaging Belgia, when we *only desire to be voluntarily* re-imbursed for the expence of a war, in which the blood and lives of our brethren are offered without indemnity? Such accusations come with little grace from those who rob the Indies of enormous treasures, the application of which is to the enslaving of the natives.

" Shall I recall to you that grand head of accusation, our reception of the addresses and deputations of the Patriotic English Societies, as if the English Nation had not a right to fe-

licitate surrounding nations on their recovery of their freedom, as if such felicitations did not tend to banish national antipathies, and to draw closer the ties of humanity and friendship between them. As if the French could refuse the entry of men into the Temple of Liberty, who demanded permission to pay their homage to her. * * *

all the horrors of a political inquisition reserved for those patriots whom business or pleasure may have directed to that country.

"The whole of that bill is an infraction of the 4th Article of the Commercial Treaty, which stipulates that every Frenchman shall, without passport, go and come, buy and sojourn in that country—of that treaty universally respected in France, though injurious to her commerce and manufactures, and originating either in the ignorance or corruption of the ancient government.

"Lastly, to what shall we attribute the armament of England, but to an intention to threaten, intimidate, and oppress, if possible, the rising Republic; for the impotency of Spain, the secret treaty which is suspected between those courts, the harmony now reigning between England and Russia, and the submission of Holland to its supreme commands, is sufficient proof that France alone is the object of their attack. It is difficult in combining these facts to discard an idea, that the Court of St. James's, weary of its neutrality, and persecuted by the prayer of our enemies and the emigrants, has determined to take an active part in that coalition against liberty. The King still resents that ignominy and contempt which royalty has lately experienced, and the American war has not as yet cured him of that fatal propensity to combat once more the genius of freedom.

"The hatred of Lord Hawkesbury, the secret director of the cabinet; the corrupt majority of the Parliament; the profound submission to him of that Council, which are in part his creatures, and the feeble resistance of Pitt and his colleagues, who cease to oppose the war since it has become popular; the submission of the Lords to the will of the King, who see in it the preservation of their titles; and the farce acted in the House of Commons by the Opposition; their insolence against France, and the blindness of the English Nation; the unheard of disinterestedness of the merchants, who, panic struck with the doctrine of equality, prodigalize their treasures to crush it, calculating from false or exaggerated representations, and believing that France is plunged in anarchy, without a navy, without pecuniary resources, have placed us in our present situation.

" But on the other hand, can it be believed that these demonstrations of war are serious, when the English ministry have so many reasons which should dissuade them from it; when we see that there is no real motive for a declaration against France, and that those which are alledged are miserable sophisms; that it is impossible long to deceive the English nation, and to make it believe that it ought to spend millions to open the Scheldt, or for the explanation of a Decree already explained. When we see that brilliant commerce destroyed by war, a commerce from which they are peaceably enriching themselves amidst our distractions; when we observe that a war must dry up those fruitful resources of the public revenue, which have for a time covered the deficiency between the receipt and expenditure; when we behold that enormous debt which weighs down England, those taxes, which, though insufficient, crush it, till it is become impossible to find an article on which a tax can be laid; when we see that this war will be useless, even for the end which the English ministry proposes, this end being accomplished, and the Revolution, with which they were menaced, totally annihilated; when we see, on the contrary, that this war must revive the hope of such a Revolution, since the most fortunate war is always cruelly burdensome, infallibly creates malcontents, and since from thence to a Revolution at the present crisis is but a step.—Can we believe that these demonstrations are serious, when we see the English ministry continuing their negotiations, even with agents whose character they feign not to acknowledge; when we observe them ordering only the same number of men and ships which were put into commission on the dissembled preparations against Spain and Russia; and, particularly, abstaining from that terrible resource, a press, without which it is impossible to equip even a small fleet.

" In collecting all these circumstances, we should consider this as a war of preparations; but under this view, it is more to be dreaded by us than an open and declared war; for what would be its object? to amuse us with false negotiations, to dissipate our resources, while they were augmenting their means, and then to attack the Republic at a time they thought the most favourable.

"This was a system of Leopold and Frederic William, it is the system of the Cabinet of St. James's. They wait till their fleets are completely armed and equipped; they secretly hasten armaments which cannot be completed under two or three months. They wait that our assignats should be depressed in value; that our mortgages should be consumed; that anarchy should divide us, that the French people, tired of war, and in dread of taxes, should become an easy prey to be swallowed up by them. Therefore we should counteract the English Cabinet, as we have done Leopold and Frederick William; we should oblige them to give us a precise explanation which may perfectly quiet us, or draw the sword against the English; and believe me, the sailors of France will not be inferior to the conquerors of Brabant; and the sea also will furnish its Jemappe.

"We must now tear the veil that envelopes this Colossus, England; we must prove, that this war will be begun with equal and greater advantages to us, than to the Cabinet of St. James's

"Money, men, and ships, form the triple nerve of war. Let us then view the state of England, let us compare it with France.

"The Public expenditure of England in 1791, after a peace of seven years, amounted to more than seventeen millions, and its receipt was not more than sixteen millions; thus a greater sum is necessary in England to govern seven millions of people than in France, supposing us at peace, would be necessary for the wants of twenty-five millions; that is saying, that every Englishman pays three times as much as a Frenchman; it is saying, that England has not one security to offer for the loans she will be obliged to raise in case of a war, since her ordinary expence in time of peace exceeds the ordinary income by near a million, while France has a value of above an hundred and thirty millions sterling in land to offer as a mortgage, and while, should this be spent, the riches of the soil, and the industry of the inhabitants offer those immense resources which have long been consumed by the English Ministry.

"Judge by one fact of the distress of this proud Power. The dissembled Armament against Russia cost above four millions, and makes part of a debt of twenty millions yet unfunded,

while the Ministry, to hide the weakness of an apparent prosperity, annually liquidates a million of the English Fund. To pay off a million, when the annual deficit amounts to near this million, when near twenty millions are not yet funded, to answer these pressing wants, they were obliged to degrade themselves so far as to take from the Bank of England, half a million belonging to unknown Proprietors.

"England, since its Peace with America, has been obliged to create three millions of annual taxes. Oh, what burdens might not Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufactures have dreaded, if the war had continued; if, moreover, it had been directed against a Free People, of twenty-five millions of men, determined to bury themselves under the ruins of Liberty, when a war with three millions of Americans cost them more than fifty millions!

"Shall I mention the resource of men? Shall I compare a population of twenty-five millions of French with one soul, one will only, and seven millions of English, who scarcely furnish thirty thousand men, which are annually required and destroyed in the burning climate of their Sugar Islands and East-Indies—and 1200 thousand Scotch, tired of the English yoke, who daily desert to the United States—and three million of Irish, who, far from assisting the Cabinet of St. James's—far from wishing to oppose a Free People—are endeavouring, on the contrary, to imitate them, and who already present, to dismayed despotism, a well disciplined army of near sixty thousand volunteers.

"Your immense population is and will be an exhaustless nursery for soldiers and seamen, while the voice of liberty will call them to the combat either by land or sea. In less than six months 80,000 French seamen, attracted by a desire to serve their country, will spread the tri-coloured ensign, while the English Cabinet cannot, with the monstrous bounty of five pounds, complete their addition of nine thousand men, and will be obliged to have recourse to a press. Never forget that the war in which you engage is an unexampled one; it is a war of the whole nation contending with satellites, bribed or pressed—satellites, whose resources will be soon exhausted.

"It is by thus considering with an attentive eye this deceptive

scaffolding of English greatness, that the informed observer discovers its emptiness, and when we carry our view beyond the Island, England appears to stand alone, absolutely single amidst its allies and its vassals. Is it Prussia who should assist her; Prussia, whom she has so cruelly deceived in the present war? Russia, who will never forgive her attempts to humble its *pride?* The Emperor, whose poverty would soon exhaust her treasures, as it did in the war of the Allies? Portugal, reduced to beggary; Portugal, who digs for gold, not to enrich the Tagus, but the Thames? Holland, tired of her yoke, and whose impotence is now contrary to the interests of England herself? Are the Sugar Islands to furnish the solid basis of her grandeur; these islands, already shaken by the example of the French Colonies, and where the people of colour are reduced to the situation of slaves, and where the slaves are not even on a par with beasts of burden? Complete your decree on the people of colour, soften the lot of the slave, and you will protect your own Islands, and soon gain those of England.

"Is it in the immense possessions of the East-Indies that England expects to find resources and friends? I can see every where immense sums to be spent. I can discover a Commerce, which, in four years, has cost eleven millions, and which has not brought in so much. I see a territorial Revenue, which arises only from force, which is daily diminishing, which is insufficient to supply even the most trifling war, or the depredations of the English. I see a tribute still to be paid to China, an immense extent to over-run, few resources to employ, and not a Friend—*Not a Friend.* Yes, this is a truth to every one who knows the present political State of India. In fact, is the Nabob of the Carnatic the Friend of England? He who for fifty years has been bridled by England, whom they have continually drenched with bitterness and ignominy, and who is now seized by his Creditors, that dispute the remnant of those spoils carried off by the avarice of English Governors? Is he a Friend, who lends troops to their strength, but will ever refuse them to their weakness? Are their friends the Mahrattas, who have at length discovered the Machiavelism of English politics, who are well informed, that if Lord Cornwallis did not totally crush Tippoo, it was because he would still retain a rival for

them and that it is the policy of England to destroy one nation of India by the means of another? Is it Tippoo Sultan who hides in his heart the devouring grief of having seen those laurels wither at Seringapatam, which he had so often gathered from the English themselves? This Tippoo, whose element is ambition; who eagerly waits the moment when he can again display to the English his talents, his courage, and his vengeance! Is it the unfortunate son of Shah Allum, who in watching the throne of the Mogul has reaped only the fruit of English injustice, of an injustice which continues to deprive him of a tribute which even the Parliament acknowledges to be legitimate? Are their friends the laborious weavers of India, over whose industry they exercise a tyranny? The *Zemindars*, whose property is constantly fleeting? Are these the men who will lend their support to the English? No, all assistance from hence must be obtained by force, and the friendship of force must be of short duration.

"Thirty millions of men in the East-Indies are now under the dominion of England. Almost all Indostan detests her, and sighs for the destruction of the English power. And with what force do they control this enormous number of men, this immense extent of country? With *ten thousand* English at the most, spread over the whole surface of India, who have under their command one hundred thousand of the indigent people of the country well disciplined, but whose discipline may some day be turned against their masters. Add to this picture the exhausted state of the finances of all these Princes, and, in particular those of Bengal and the India Company exhausted, on the point of annihilation, weighed down with debts, and, like all other monopolies, overwhelmed by curses.

"Recollect the unjust war against Tippoo, which is yet scarcely terminated, and which has cost England more than two millions sterling, a prodigious number of men, and then tell us if a little country like England can long sustain this gigantic grandeur at four or five thousand leagues distance from its territory; tell us is it possible they should sustain well directed attacks concerted with the princes of the country, and on a new system; tell us if the French Republicans should present themselves in these climates not to replace the English in driving

them away, but to restore India to independence, to recall commerce into its true channel. to establish it on the basis of fraternity; tell us if they will not then find in the princes of the country so many allies, and if it will not be easy to overthrow a power, whose colossal figure betrays its weakness, and foretells its ruin.

" Far be from us, in tracing this picture, any idea of afflicting the English Nation. We wish only to unmask the phantom of power upon which their Ministry are supported. The Nation offers to us only brethren, and we do not wish to destroy our brother: but the English nation ought, like us, to seek its prosperity, not in an exclusive commerce, not in territories stolen from their proprietors, not in the art of sucking the blood from the labourers and partisans of India, but in a trade founded on morality, on universal justice, and on the free exercise of industry. And what nation can pretend to a higher rank than England? What nation exceeds her in industry, in capital, in the love of order and morality, the morality which inspires confidence, that confidence which is the soul of true commerce?

" I will not extend these reflections further; they must have proved to you, that you need not dread to see the cabinet of England joined with your enemies.

" Kersaint has already demonstrated, in the energetic description he has before given you of the English nation, how easy it is for you to attack them with advantage, and in almost all their possessions.

" What you have to fear, is not a war, but the uncertainty whether you shall have a war. This will expend your resources without profit. You ought then to require a precise answer; and if you do not obtain it, to resolve on a war.

" Say then to the English nation, ' The war which your cabinet meditates against us, is an impious, fratricidal war, which we see with horror. To live in peace with you is our only wish; we will respect your rights, and those of your Allies; respect our principles.——If you have any uneasinesses, we will dissipate them; but if you are weak enough to obey the perfidious dictates of your ministry; if you will lend your hands in the battles they prepare for, then, we declare it

with grief, we can see in you only cruel enemies, only the brethren of those satellites of Austria, whose destruction we have sworn.

"From these considerations, the Committee has thought it their duty to present to the Convention two draughts of decrees; one relative to the Diplomatic part, which I now offer you; and the other, relative to the military measures which may be taken, and which will be laid before you by Kersaint immediately afterwards.

"The National Convention, after having heard the report of the Committee of General Defence, decrees:

I. "That its Executive Council is charged to declare to the government of England, that the intention of the French Republic is to preserve harmony and fraternity with the English nation, to respect its independence and that of its Allies, so long as England, or its Allies shall not attack the Republic.

II. "The Executive Council is charged to demand of the English government, the execution of the *fourth* article of the Treaty of Commerce of 1786, and in consequence that French citizens travelling or resident in England, cease to be subjected to the humiliating forms prescribed in the act of Parliament of the month of December last, and may travel and reside quietly in England, as the English do in France.

III. "The Executive Council is charged to demand of the English government, that the French may freely, and on the footing of other foreigners, export from Great Britain and Ireland, corn and other provisions, and that they may not be subjected to any other prohibition than foreigners in general, conformably to the Treaty of 1786.

IV. "The Executive Council is charged to demand of the English government, what is the object of the armaments recently ordered, and if they are directed against France; reserving to itself, in case of a refusal of satisfaction on all these points, to take immediately such measures as the interest and safety of the Republic may require.

To say nothing in favour of the French government, whose conduct admits of no extenuation, it must be admitted that the conduct of the English ministry was

such as every enlightened statesman must be ashamed of; they had the power of remaining neutral, with very great advantage both to the country and its allies; but they wantonly and unnecessarily plunged into a war, for the mere purpose of cutting off the heads of a few persons, whom every journal and every newspaper in France proved to be busily preparing to perform that office for one another.

Scarcely had the war been entered upon before France discovered that her apprehensions as to the consequences of it had been greatly overrated. The people of England, who had justly complained of the unpardonable extravagance of their government, and the unwarrantable burdens that they were obliged to support, were highly incensed at being called upon to bear the evils of a war, the object of which was jesuitically concealed from them. The tyranny and cruelty of the French rulers towards the Royal Family had, doubtlessly, excited the same emotions in the breasts of the ministers as in the rest of the nation; and they had assigned this as a sort of collateral reason for their hostility to the French government; but the people could not give them credit for this, as one of the motives for war, seeing that they had made no attempt to save the King whilst he was living, though there was much reason to believe that they might have preserved him by negociation. Every view of the subject tended to prove that the object of the war was to restore the ancient despotism in France; to which the arrogance of the Pittites and the Grenvillites seemed strongly assimilated; and when the people saw the immense sums that were wrung from them by taxes, to be squandered away upon a horde of idle and insolent placemen and pensioners, the apprehension of their earnings being applied to the re-establishment of a system of similar oppression in France, greatly increased their seditions and discontents; and the French soon discovered, that, instead of over-

throwing their governments, the ministry would find enough to do to preserve themselves.

Meantime the success of the Republican armies on the frontiers was not so rapid as it had been. The Prussians had determined on the recapture of Frankfort, and, owing to the ill-will that the inhabitants bore to the French, they succeeded with unexpected facility. It was even declared that many instances of treachery and barbarity occurred in the treatment of the Gallic soldiers and captives, but these reports should be received with great caution, for it is known that the Republican officers resorted much to exaggeration, with a view of inflaming the passions of the French people.

The intrepid Custine was not dismayed by the surrender of Frankfort and Mentz; but collecting his forces, resolved to check the progress of the enemy. The Prussian army was 50,000 strong, and Custine could only muster 23,000; yet the French general heroically maintained his ground till he had secured a retreat into a wood; from whence he could harass the enemy, and prevent his penetrating into the interior of the country.

General Dumourier, after the conquest of the Low Countries, turned his attention to the re-establishment of discipline in the army, and the supply of its wants; his attention was also occupied with a sort of extra-official negociation with the English government, to prevent the war extending to England or Holland. The General not only wished to preserve peace with the two powers, but to procure their friendly office in aid of the means which he was about to adopt for the release of the Royal Family, and the restoration of order in France; but the shallow politicians, of which the British cabinet was at that time composed, could not discover that he was obliged to use a gasconading and inflammatory style in his proclamations and manifestoes, in order to counteract the machinations of the Maratists; and judging him by

his offensive language, rather than by his private overtures, they neglected all the advantages which the popularity and talents of this General offered to them.

After war was declared, and hostilities actually commenced, Holland became an object of attention to the French Republic, as the conquest of it would give them a decided superiority over the belligerent powers. It has been supposed that Britain and Holland had calculated on the defection of Dumourier, if not his co-operation, else they would not have commenced hostilities in so precipitate a manner. Considering the situation of the General at this time, it was not possible to form any adequate conception of the plan he meant to pursue during the next campaign, although we may gather from his own Memoirs, that he had long meditated his escape into some foreign country, as he could not be the servant of the Republic and also act in conformity to his own sentiments. His ostensible plan appears to have been, to advance with a body of men posted at Moerdyk, and covering that place, as also Gertruydenberg, six miles further North than Breda, on the right, and Bergen-op-Zoom, Stemberg, Klundert, and Williamstadt on the left, to penetrate into the interior of Holland by the sea of Dort.

Whilst these things were in agitation, Dumourier gave orders to General Miranda to proceed towards Mæstricht, with a detachment of his army, to annoy it as much as possible with red-hot balls and bombs, but to attempt no regular siege of the place at so inclement a season of the year; and on being informed that the Commander in Chief had got beyond Mœrdyk, he was ordered to leave the siege to the management of General Valence, who was coming from Paris, and lose not a moment in pushing on to Nimeguen. Having thus far succeeded, he was to march by the Duchy of Cleves, to stop the progress of the Prussian army, if they had previously calcu-

lated on his taking that route. From the 1st of February to the 24th, nothing decisive was attempted against Mæstricht, on which day the Prince of Hesse, the commander of the town, was summoned by Miranda to surrender, a requisition with which he positively refused to comply; in consequence whereof, the French opened a tremendous fire upon it from their batteries, and set it in flames in different quarters. While they were constructing their works, two unsuccessful sallies were made upon them from the garrison.

In the mean time, General Dumourier collected his army in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, and, before his attempt to penetrate into Holland, he published a manifesto, addressed to the inhabitants of that country, whom he denominated Batavians, and warmly intreated them to emancipate themselves from what he called a tyrannical yoke—the government of the Stadtholder. His force consisted of 21 battalions, only two of them troops of the line, and amounting, by his own computation, to 13,700 men, including his cavalry and light troops. His army entered the territories of Holland on the 17th of February, and the blockade of Breda was commenced by his right division, under the command of General d'Arçon, while he gave orders to Colonel Le Clerc, commander of the left, to blockade Bergen-op-Zoom. The governors of these places deserted their out-works, and Breda was inundated at the time of its being attacked. On the 23d, Dumourier summoned Governor Byland, the commander of Breda to surrender, which not being complied with, he mounted two batteries, consisting of four mortars, and the same number of howitzers, when a heavy bombardment was opened upon it, and continued for some hours, but ceased towards evening. The next day it was renewed on the part of the French with uncommon vigour, when the Governor being told, that if he did not capitulate immediately, Dumourier would bring his whole army to act against him, he thought it prudent to surrender.

On the 26th of February, General Dumourier got possession of Klundert, (a strong fortified town, about 14 miles N. W. of Breda, and 16 N. E. of Bergen-op-Zoom) which was defended by the Governor with the utmost gallantry, but as his garrison consisted of no more than 150 men, he found it impossible for him to hold out against the force of the enemy. The next objects of his attention were Williamstadt and Gertruydenberg, the former of which places was attacked by a detachment under the command of General Berneron; and M. d'Arçon, an able officer, was appointed to attack the latter, which he compelled to surrender, by capitulation, on the 4th of March. General Berneron continued the siege of Williamstadt and Bergen-op-Zoom with unabated vigour, assisted by Le Clerc, while the Commander in Chief was on the eve of transporting his army from Mœrdyk to Dort, (a distance of about 11 miles), by means of a number of boats which he got possession of at Gertruydenberg, but there the brilliant successes of M. Dumourier were destined to terminate.

The army, although it had been shamefully neglected by the war minister, was still numerous and respectable, which induced Miranda to continue the siege of Mæstricht with vigour and preseverance, he having the immediate command of a considerable body of men, while General La Noue had encamped his troops at Herve, a village situated about nine miles E. of the town of Liege. General Valence's head-quarters at this time were at Liege, although his outposts extended as far as Aix-la-Chapelle, and the banks of the Roer. The Austrian General, (Clairfait) having effected the passage of this river, in the night of the 1st March, came to a fierce engagement with the French forces on the side of Durn, (about 15 miles due E. of Aix-la-Chapelle) compelling them to retreat to Alderhaven, with the very serious and important loss of 2000 men, 12 pieces of cannon, 13 ammunition waggons, and the military chest. As in the

fortune of war, one signal defeat is very often the prelude of another, the French were, the next day, successfully attacked by the Archduke, who became master of a number of their batteries, and nine pieces of cannon.

On the 3d, they were attacked by the Prince of Saxe Cobourg, who obtained a memorable victory over them, by obliging them to abandon Aix-la-Chapelle, and retreat as far as the vicinity of Liege, leaving behind them 4,000 killed on the field, 1,600 prisoners, and 20 pieces of cannon. After such a defeat, it was not to be expected that General Miranda would deem it expedient to continue the siege of Maestricht, or indeed find it practicable, since he was informed next day, that the enemy was on their march towards Wyck, on the opposite side of the river, 35,000 strong, and most unquestionably with a view to grant all necessary assistance to the garrison and inhabitants of the town. Scarcely had he time to withdraw the 3000 troops stationed there, under the command of General Leuceneur, before they were attacked by the advanced guard of the enemy. The bombardment, however, was still continued, and much damage done to the town in consequence of the flames. But at midnight General Miranda ordered all the troops to commence a retreat, his artillery having been sent before him, under the escort of 4000 men, arrived safe at Tongres, the enemy having found it impracticable to conquer this rear guard. At Tongres, being attacked by the enemy, he was obliged to retreat to Hans and St. Tron, where he effected a junction with General Valence, who had been compelled to desert Liege.

THE END OF CHAP. XVI.

CHAPTER XVII.

Discontents of the fraternized Belgians....Dumourier defeated at Neerwinden....Miranda imputes the Defeat to Dumourier....Dumourier defeats the Imperialists....Their subsequent Treachery towards him....His Dislike of the Terrorist Government....They send Commissioners to arrest him, but he seizes and confines them....He quits the Army, after protesting against the Conduct of the Jacobins....General Dampierre appointed to his Command.

THE absurd and violent conduct of the Convention and its ministers, became now so disgusting to the Commander in Chief, that he could no longer find resolution to carry the horrors of war further into foreign states, for the purpose of consolidating a power, which seemed only inclined to rescue nations from the arbitrary will of a single despot, in order to subject them to the caprices of a million of tyrants, who would not themselves submit to any rule.

The Belgians had been completely captivated by the first sound of French liberty, and nothing was heard among them but being incorporated with France. The heyday of Republican delight was preserved amongst them for some time, by an assurance that they were to be relieved from the burdens imposed upon them by the Emperor, and that their brothers, the French, had been induced to rescue them from the yoke, out of mere kindness. But it was a very curious illustration of this fraternity, that the Commissioners of the Convention gave, when they arrived at Brussels; for they demanded very heavy contributions to defray the expenses of the delivering armies. These, and numberless other outrages committed in Belgia, Dumourier says, not only alienated the

affections of the people from France, but rendered it unsafe for an army to be quartered among them; moreover, General Bournonville, who had been appointed minister of war, in lieu of Paché, had resigned the office, from a conviction that the pride and ignorance of the government would defeat all the efforts of its officers.

Under those discouraging circumstances, the French forces met with a very powerful resistance from the Dutch and English troops, which had now prepared to arrest their progress, and as the British gun-boats were able to act in the *Holland Diep*, and *Bies Bosch*, the General thought it adviseable to retreat, least he should be inclosed between the Hollanders and the incensed Belgians.

Dumourier had gone to Liege, where he was received by the troops with every demonstration of joy, expecting that they would be led to conquests under his command, equally as glorious as what they obtained at Gemappe. It is certain, however, that the strength and vigour of the French army were now no more; the man they so much rejoiced to behold again, was not, in point of enthusiasm, the same Dumourier who had formerly conquered the Netherlands. On the 15th of March the Austrians determined on the reduction of Tirlemont; the French had no more than 400 men at that station, yet they fought with incredible fury before they would surrender, and the Austrians were the next day compelled to evacuate it, by Dumourier in person, when they retreated towards St. Tron. On the 18th a desperate engagement was fought at Neerwinden, between the hostile armies, which continued, with unabated fury on both sides, from seven in the morning till five in the afternoon, at which time the French found themselves incapable to cope with the enemy any longer, and the Austrian cavalry completely routed them. The courage of the Republicans, on this occasion, is allowed to have been very great, as well as the skill they exhibited; but they had to contend with superior numbers of well-disciplined troops.

M. Dumourier attributes the defeat of this day to the bad conduct of Miranda, who commanded the left wing of the army,—to a blunder committed by General La Marche, and to the jealousy of Valence.

It is impossible to determine, with precision, how far these charges are founded in fact, or how much of the defeat might be owing to the commander himself; but certain it is that General Miranda, in writing to M. Petion, insinuates his suspicions of Dumourier's integrity in terms by no means ambiguous. He declares that it had been the invariable practice of the Commander in Chief, prior to the battle of Neerwinden, to consult with him upon every emergency; but that for this battle he had not made the least mention of the very arrangements which he proposed to adopt. Miranda says, "At eleven at night my orders were delivered in writing, and I learned in a conversation with him, that we were to offer battle to an enemy 51,000 strong, very advantageously posted, and a formidable artillery, with a force inferior to theirs, and with every disadvantage of situation and encampment—all this was to be effected without having previously reconnoitred the ground, or the particular position of the enemy." The loss sustained by the French in this battle, Dumourier estimates at 3,000 men, with a number of cannon; while the same authority states the loss of the Austrians at 1,400. In addition to this defeat, the army was farther enfeebled by the loss of 6,000 men who deserted, taking their route towards Brussels and France.

However, the Republican army retreated with a considerable degree of order and regularity, making it almost a sort of victory by their frequent skirmishes, till they arrived at Godsenhoven, a league to the Southward of Tirlemont. At this place they formed themselves in order of battle, but the hostile armies rested the whole night upon their arms. The next day (19th March) produced nothing memorable; and on the 20th M. Dumourier got posses-

sion of the heights of Contich, in the vicinity of Tirlemont, which gave him an opportunity of carrying off his magazines. It appeared to him, however, that this position would not long be tenable, and that its incapacity to afford any protection to Brussels or Louvain, rendered it an object of little or no consequence; he resolved to concentrate his forces at Brussels and Louvain.

On the 21st, M. Dumourier took his station at Louvain, and on the ensuing day he experienced a severe attack from the enemy. The contest was remarkably sanguinary, and continued the whole day, terminating in the total defeat of the Imperial troops, who lost a prodigious number of men in killed and wounded. Prior to this engagement the Republican Commander in Chief had dispatched Colonel Montjoye to the head-quarters of the Prince of Cobourg, to enter into a treaty respecting the wounded and prisoners, concerning which he thus speaks: "He there saw Colonel Mack, an officer of uncommon merit, who observed to Colonel Montjoye, that it might be equally advantageous to both parties to agree to a suspension of arms. Dumourier, who had deeply considered the situation of his army, sent Montjoye again to Colonel Mack an the 22d, to demand if he would come to Louvain, and make the same proposition to Dumourier. Colonel Mack came in the evening. The following articles were verbally agreed to: First, that the Imperialists should not again attack the French army in great force, nor General Dumourier again offer battle to the Imperialists. Secondly, that on the faith of this tacit armistice, the French should retire to Brussels slowly, and in good order, without any opposition from the enemy. And lastly, that Dumourier and Colonel Mack should have another interview after the evacuation of Brussels, in order to settle further articles that might then be mutually deemed necessary." Whether it originated from a conviction that Dumourier was not to be trusted, or from some other motive, cannot with certainty be known, but no respect

was paid by the Imperialists to the above verbal stipulation, who, under the command of Clairfait, attacked the advanced guard at Pillenberk, which obliged the French general to abandon Louvain. Dumourier, upon this defeat, conveyed the wounded men, and the flour destined for his troops, in boats to Mechlin; from thence he performed his retreat to Brussels during the night, else would he have had reason to repent most bitterly or his confidence. He speaks in terms not very honourable to the conduct of the Austrians on this occasion; that, if he had not taken the above precaution, he believed, "that notwithstanding the verbal stipulation agreed to by Colonel Mack, they would probably have seized upon this opportunity to destroy, or entirely disperse the French army." On his part he continued to pay the most sacred regard to his promise, and he admits that the Prince of Cobourg discovered some regard to it, by continuing at Louvain for the space of three days longer, watching the rear-guard of the French only by small detachments at a time. Dumourier with his army marched through Brussels on the 25th of March, and now the citadel of Antwerp (about 26 miles North of Brussels) was the only remaining place of which he found it practicable to retain the possession. Here he placed a garrison of 2,000 men, together with provisions to last them six months, with a view to preserve a communication with the troops which had been left at Breda and Gertruydenberg. He intimates that it was his intention to have formed beyond the frontiers of the Republic, by Namur, Mons, Tournay, Courtray, Antwerp, and Breda, to afford him the opportunity of putting his army in a more formidable situation; but he declares that the unavoidable evacuation of Namur having broken this line, he was completely disconcerted in the execution of his plan.

On the 27th General Dumourier arrived at Ath, at which place he received an order from the Convention

to arrest General Miranda and the Colonel of the 73d regiment of infantry; but, though Dumourier complained of General Miranda, he too well knew the sanguinary temper of the present legislators to execute such orders. Colonel Mack arrived at Ath the same day, when another conference took place between him and the General, the result of which was, "That the French army should remain some time longer in the possession of Mons, Tournay, and Courtray, without being harassed by the Imperial army; that General Dumourier, who stated to *Colonel Mack his design of marching against Paris*, should, when their designs were ripe for execution, regulate the motions of the Imperialists, who were to act as auxiliaries in the execution of their plan; that in case of Dumourier's having no need of assistance, which was to be greatly desired by both parties, the Imperialists should not advance further than the frontiers of France, and that the total evacuation of Belgium should be the price of this condescension: but if Dumourier could not effect the re-establishment of a limited monarchy (not a counter-revolution), he himself should indicate the number and kind of troops which the Imperialists should furnish, to aid in the project, and which should be entirely under Dumourier's direction."

If he was thus unequivocal in the declaration of his intentions to Colonel Mack, he was equally as explicit to the three Commissioners from Paris, who came with a view to ascertain his designs respecting the existing government of France, although their ostensible reason was to hold a conversation with him relative to the affairs of the Netherlands. He was then at Tournay, and, when the deputies arrived, he happened to be in company with Madame Sillery, young Egalité, General Valence, and others. It was natural to expect that the conference between him and the Commissioners would not be conducted with any great degree of moderation, especially since the General was determined to keep his designs no

longer a secret. He poured forth the bitterest invectives against the cruelty and wretched policy of the Jacobins, justly considering them as the cause of all the calamities which had come upon that country. He exclaimed, "They will ruin France, but I will save it, though they should call me a Cæsar, a Cromwell, or a Monk." At this time the Commissioners did not deem it prudent to continue the altercation any farther, but on the ensuing day they returned, with the full intention of discovering, if possible, how far he designed to push the matter, and what sort of a government he could wish to establish in France, for which purpose they found it necessary to disguise their real sentiments.

On the contrary, Dumourier made the most explicit declaration of his own sentiments, and what he was determined to do for the salvation of France. He very bluntly denominated the members of the Convention a horde of ruffians, on whom he looked with the utmost abhorrence—the volunteers of Paris he designated by the name of poltroons, and ventured to predict that all their efforts would be ultimately ineffectual. "As for the rest," continued M. Dumourier, "there still remains a party. If the Queen and her children are threatened, I will march to Paris—it is my fixed intention—and the Convention will not exist three weeks longer." On being interrogated as to the substitute he meant to employ, he very freely gave them to understand that he was the determined advocate of a limited monarchy; and that he would most assuredly be in Paris in the space of three weeks; for his being so successful in such a vallainous cause, had been a source of lamentation to him ever since the celebrated conquest of Gemappe.

When the Commissioners returned to Paris, and stated the substance of the conversation, the members of the Convention ordered Dumourier to be superseded in the chief command by M. Bournonville, who was accompanied by four Commissioners appointed to arrest him.

Wishing to proceed with deliberation, the Commissioners did not think it proper to go directly to the camp, and therefore they forwarded a summons to M. Dumourier, desiring him to meet them at Lisle, and answer the charges which had been preferred against him. Without intimating any suspicions of danger, he replied, that such was the situation of the army at present, that it required his immediate presence and unremitting attention; as the troops in Antwerp had deserted the place, and he had been obliged to order the garrisons of Breda and Gertruydenberg to capitulate, on the proviso that they were permitted to return back to France; he, himself, for the purpose of occupying the camp of Maulde, having raised that of Tournay. At the same time he commanded General Miaczinski, who commanded at Orchies, to proceed with his troops to Lisle, and arrest the Commissioners sent from the Convention to apprehend him. Miaczinski foolishly made known the object of his mission, which he ought prudently to have concealed, as it was manifestly a hazardous undertaking. The consequence was, that on his entrance into Lisle the gates were immediately shut behind him, he was arrested, conveyed to Paris, condemned and executed, by that sanguinary tribunal, the National Convention. Dumourier was frustrated in his endeavours to gain possession of Conde and Valenciennes, by the two Generals Ferrand and Ecuyer, both invincibly attached to the Republican interest, although they owed their elevation in the army entirely to General Dumourier. "Ferrand," says the General, "was arrived at an age when he could not reasonably have been suspected of fanaticism; he had bitterly exclaimed against anarchy and jacobin principles in times past, but he sacrificed his opinions and his gratitude together."

It was, unquestionably, a daring attempt to arrest a general of Dumourier's extraordinary talents at the head of his army, as the Commissioners had no reason to be-

lieve that his army was disaffected to him. They proceeded (1st of April) to M. Dumourier's head-quarters at St. Amand, and, on being introduced to that General, they unequivocally unfolded to him the object of their mission. After a conversation, which lasted some hours, Dumourier found it impracticable to gain them over to his views, or convince them of the madness and wickedness of the Jacobins; he gave a signal to a party of soldiers to take them into custody, and requested General Clairfait to confine them at Tournay, his then head-quarters, that their lives might be responsible for any injury of a serious nature done to the persons of the Royal Family of France. In calculating on the co-operation of his army for the purpose of establishing monarchy, M. Dumourier's masterly abilities seem to have deserted him; for although he might fairly conclude that his soldiers would not permit him to be personally insulted as a criminal, they were too much enamoured of republican sentiments to assist in the establishment of the old government, however modified.

Having published a manifesto to his army on the evening of the 2nd of April, he on the 3d, repaired to the camp to make its contents known to the soldiers, and they gave tokens of approbation respecting his designs. At St. Amand the corps of artillery evinced their satisfaction with his proposal, and he assures us that he could discover no symptoms of disapprobation, but among some battalions of volunteers, who expressed it by murmurs. Next day he set out for Condé, committing the care of St. Amand to General Thouvenot; but, before his arrival at the fortress, he received intelligence of the most humiliating nature, sent by an officer, from his confidential friend General Neuilly; that the soldiers were almost in a state of open rebellion, on which account he would not advise him to proceed, as his life might be in danger. On his way he passed a body of volunteers taking the same route with himself, but, contrary to what

he might have expected, they gave him no molestation. Scarcely had he received the message of his friend from the hands of the officer, when a detachment of the volunteers, having abandoned the highway, and running towards him with menacing countenances, exclaimed, "Stop, stop!" It was not now time to deliberate, in the midst of the greatest danger; he mounted a horse belonging to a servant of General Egalite (now Duke of Orleans) and with the utmost difficulty made his escape, the whole body of volunteers having fired upon him at once.

It was the intention of the General, at this critical and alarming juncture, to reach the camp of Maulde, where he hoped to find protection and esteem; but as this was rendered impracticable, he proceeded by the river Scheldt to the territory of the Imperialists; where he had a conversation with Colonel Mack, and spent the whole night in preparing the proclamation of the Prince of Cobourg, which was issued the 5th of the month, accompanied by one of his own. It appears that the General placed great reliance upon his influence with the troops, for at this conference it was agreed that when M. Dumourier got possession of Condé it was to be delivered to the Austrians to be employed as a magazine, should the French Commander in Chief find it necessary to apply for assistance to the Imperialists in the prosecution of his plan. Dumourier's proclamation, or manifesto, recounted the signal services he had performed to his country; and he likewise animadverted on the unpardonable neglect of his army during the preceding winter by the War Minister. He did not omit the cruel and barbarous treatment of the Jacobins towards the most gallant and intrepid officers of the Republic, and particularly towards himself. He descanted on the reasons by which he was actuated in arresting the Commissioners, insisting that imperious necessity called for such a measure; and gave a most pathetic and animated description of the dreadful

evils which would unavoidably come upon France, without the establishment of a rational constitution. He closed his manifesto with an exhortation to the people of France to unite in restoring the constitution of 1789—90, and—91, which they had sworn to maintain; solemnly swearing that he appeared in arms for no other purpose, which having accomplished, he would make a voluntary resignation of all public employments, and enjoy in solitude the pleasing reflection, that he had conferred substantial happiness on his fellow-citizens.

The proclamation from the Price of Saxe Cobourg did the greatest honour to its composer; it stated, that the Convention were making indiscriminate havoc of innocence and guilt, so that the life of no honest and upright man was in safety for the space of twenty-four hours; and it was the wish of the Prince to terminate such evils, and to give France her own constiution. He paid the highest compliments to General Dumourier, and solemnly protested that the Allied Powers were only acting in concert with that General for the re-establishment of the constitution of 1789, *the constitution that France formed for herself.*

Declarations like these were very judiciously made, but the writers were required, by all the circumstances of the case, to give some more than usual pledge of their sincerity before they could obtain belief; for it occurred to every Frenchman that these promises were at variance with the whole conduct of the Combined Powers. It was the constitution of 1789 which the Princes had refused to acknowledge, and which the Coalesced Powers had united to overthrow. Was it the simple fact of the King's assassination which had satisfied those powers; or was it any proof of their reconciliation to the free constitution, that they had inflicted the most unjust and barbarous cruelties upon M. La Fayette, and his friends, who were its purest defenders? The puerile councils of the Combined Powers, never saw the weight of contradictions

like these, and they unnerved, as it were, the arms of their most valuable friends, by their own jesuitical and crooked policy. The French required time to witness some proceedings correspondent to the sentiments of the proclamation, before they could regard it in any other light than as a mere *ruse de guerre.*

M. Dumourier set out for the camp at Maulde, attended by a guard of 50 dragoons belonging to the Imperial army, with a view to ascertain the genuine sentiments of his soldiers, and try whether or not he could depend on their co-operation. He experienced no open insult or opposition, yet he could clearly perceive that a spirit of general revolt had succeeded to wonted adulation. He next intended to sound the opinions of the troops at St. Amand; but on his way he was informed of his danger, since the corps of artillery were in open rebellion against him; and he regained the Austrian head quarters, accompanied by a few faithful officers of his staff.

Besides the Generals Valence, Egalité, and Thouvenot, Colonels Thouvenot and Mountjoye, and Madame de Sillery, who quitted the Republic with M. Dumourier, he was followed by a regiment of dragoons, and the greatest part of the hussars of Berchiny; but the principal part of the army were soon taught to regard him as a traitor, and cheerfully submitted to the command of General Dampierre, who was appointed to succeed him in the command.

THE END OF CHAP. XVII.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Licentiousness of Manners....Insurrections in the Southern Departments....The Revolutionary Tribunal....The Convention orders the Royal Family under Arrest....Promptitude of the Convention....The Folly of the Allies....The British Cabinet rejects the Overtures of Dumourier....Valenciennes taken by the Duke of York....The Death of General Dampierre....The Decrees in the Convention against Marat and Miranda....Marat acquitted....Tumults in the Convention ....Twenty-one Deputies proscribed and arrested, and the Hatred of the People excited against them as Federalists ....Some of the Deputies arrive at Caen, and join the Insurgents, but are mostly destroyed. ..The Effects of Bigotry.... Several Towns taken by the Combined Armies.

THE defection of General Dumourier was by no means the principle embarrassment that the Republic met with. The people in many of the Western and Southern departments of France, arose in open rebellion against the tyranny of the Convention. The disorganizing spirit of the Jacobins was such, that they paid no regard to the prejudices or the delicacy of the people; but, under the name of fanaticism, they persecuted everything that was decent and regular. The zealots in religion were shocked by frequent processions of lewd women, heathenishly attired as goddesses, ready to receive the devotions of their licentious worshipers. The friends of virtue were outraged in every relation by the members of the legislature, who, both by their practices and laws, gave every facility to dissolutions of the marriage contract; and the lovers of order were chagrined at the increasing practices of casual cohabitation and irregular intercourse. Novelty seemed to be the ruling principle of the government,

and the guillotine the only argument it condescended to use for the conviction of the people. Resistance to such a system became a sacred obligation, and the persecuted priests took advantage of the public feelings, to arm their flocks, in various parts of the country, into powerful armies against the Convention.

La Vendee was the first department that offered any serious opposition to the Republic, and there the Royalists assembled in great numbers; but they acted rather under the impulse of passion than from any concerted plan. The Convention sent a few troops against them, and they were dispersed; although it was known that sixty out of the eighty-four departments were in a high state of disaffection. No blame can attach to the Royalists on this account, if it be true, that the courage of the just is inferior to the desperation of the unjust; for the fault of the Royalists was, that they were panic-struck with the unheard of and unexpected cruelties of the Jacobins.

On the 31st of March it was announced to the Convention, that the national guard had taken 300 of these counter-revolutionists prisoners, on the left bank of the Loire, and that they were all immediately massacred in cold blood. This was even considered perfectly regular, for the Convention doomed every Royalist, if found *with* arms in his hands, to be shot; and if *without* arms to be guillotined. A system of terror was established, which rendered a man fearful of his own thoughts, lest they should escape him; and the Convention established a scrutinizing inquisition, called the REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL; by which they often executed persons whose thoughts were detected by the awkward means they took to conceal them

Amidst all the dangers which threatened it, the Convention seemed to be perfectly conscious of its own power, and in no one instance did it betray any of those marks of imbecility and tergiversation which was so evident in

the conduct of every description of its antagonists. It resolved what it thought proper, and what it resolved it determined to accomplish.

Upon receiving accounts of Dumourier's defection and the arrest of the Commissioners, the Convention decreed, that the whole of the Bourbon family should be kept as hostages for their safety, not excepting the *ci-devant* Duke of Orleans. This fallen Prince, the first of the blood royal of France, and the richest subject in Europe, had degraded himself to the lowest fancy of the multitude, and when they adopted the universal cry of "liberty and equality," he petitioned for leave to change his princely style, and to be called *Philippe Egalite*. By his arts and his treasures, he had secured much popularity and a seat in the Convention; but now, that it was discovered, or the people thought they had discovered, that he had not crouched thus low merely with the base desire of lengthening out a shameful life, but with a view to shift the crown to his own head, they determined to find some pretence of putting him aside; accordingly the first decree was shortly followed up by one which ordered all the Bourbon family under arrest.

Having thus secured the safety of the Commissioners, the Convention appointed new ones to visit all the armies and all the departments; and these were endowed with an unlimited authority to take such measures as they should judge necessary for the accomplishment of the Conventional decrees; and some measures of particular severity were adopted, with a design of recruiting the armies upon the Republican principles of an equality of duties and rights.

Whilst the Convention was wisely taking the most firm and adequate measures for recovering the ground it had lost, the Combined Powers seemed to be collecting all their folly, with a design (if, upon reviewing their whole conduct, it can be admitted that they acted ac-

cording to any design) to lose the advantage they had gained. Generals Neuilly, Dumas, Berneron, and several other officers and soldiers, had found means of joining Dumourier, where they united with the Austrians, and proclaimed the son of Louis king, by the title of Louis XVII. and thus clearly defined their views for the satisfaction of those who might be disposed to join them. At this critical juncture a Congress was held at Antwerp, by the coalesced Princes, which was attended by the Prince of Orange, the Duke of York, Prince Cobourg, Lord Auckland, the Spanish, Prussian, Neapolitan, and other ministers, as representatives from their several courts; and this Congress was so intoxicated with their *nominal* conquests, that they obliged Prince Cobourg to revoke his Proclamation of the 5th; and broke their faith with the French General, from an overweening confidence in their own prowess. General Dumourier hoped, that in the British cabinet, at least, he should find some men of greater wisdom, and he hastened over to London to represent to them the true state of the contest; but he was mistaken, they were so swoln with the daily meed of adulation poured out to them by the clerks and writing-boys of their several offices, that they could not comprehend why it should be more difficult to conquer the French Republic than it was to triumph over the numerous clubs of tailors and shoe-makers, which they succeeded in hunting about from alehouse to alehouse; and therefore they would not condescend to hear what the General had to say, but ordered him immediately to depart the kingdom. After this, the moderate men in France saw no alternative, but submission either to the existing government, or to the ancient and odious despotism; the former they saw must correct itself in time; the latter they knew would grow worse, and therefore they left the Combined Powers to pursue their own projects, and they united with the Convention to defend the country. Ge-

neral Dumourier and the other officers withdrew into retirement, and most of the soldiers found means of returning to France.

After the Congress was broken up, the Austrian General gave notice that the armistice was at an end; and large reinforcements of English, Hanoverian, and Prussian troops having arrived, it was resolved to attack the French frontiers in ten different points at once, and some advantages were gained in the interval that was employed in reorganizing the French armies.

General Wurmser was appointed to the siege of Landau and Prince Cobourg invested Condé; but the attention of the Allies was principally devoted to Valenciennes, where the French General Dampierre was desirous of finding protection for a new camp that he was about to form. The Duke of York commanded the British and Hanoverian troops, and took the principle direction at this important post, which was conducted with much credit to the British arms; as, after a very long and ardent contest, the enemy was obliged to abandon his camp, and leave both Condé and Valenciennes to the besiegers.

In one of these battles General Dampierre was killed; and his death was a very severe loss to the French, as most of their able generals were either under arrest, or chased away from the army by groundless suspicions and accusations, yet the soldiers defended their respective garrisons with uncommon bravery.

General Custine, who had scarcely been inferior to Dumourier in valour and success, had been as greatly disgusted at the conduct of the soldiers, and occupied a great length of time in endeavouring to restore discipline in his army, without any very great effect. On this ground he was obliged to continue on the defensive; but, with the assistance of General Houchard, and a few other able officers, he secured this frontier from the inroads of the enemy. He had been obliged to set some

very severe examples of military execution in his camp; notwithstanding which, after an attempt to surprise the Prussians at Sembach, he complained to the Convention, that he could gain no success with such troops. "Our artillery," said he, "had great effect, and the battle was much in our favour, but while our infantry was forming, our cavalry rode up towards them, which a battalion of our troops taking for the enemy, they ran away, and could not be rallied. I did everything to stop their flight, but in vain, and in running off they shot at our troops and behaved like cowards."

A favourable period now offered for the operations of the Combined Armies; for, in addition to the paucity of officers, the disorganized state of the army, the insurrections in the country, and the fluctuations in the government, the Legislative Body itself was daily attacked by the menaces of the Parisians. The march of the troops into the interior of France might not have been difficult, if the invaders had happened to have blockaded the places they besieged, instead of remaining so long upon the frontiers.

It does not appear that the Combined Powers used any endeavours to make either of the factions instrumental in overthrowing the rest; nor does it appear that either of them endeavoured to secure itself by the aid of the Combined Powers; yet they did not fail to accuse each other of this corruption with as much bitterness as if they were assured of each others guilt. The Brissotines were now entirely outdone in crimes, they had undertaken a race for which they were inadequately equipped; the Jacobins bid so much higher than they, that the corrupted Parisians were willing to take off their heads as royalists, aristocrats, or traitors of any name that might be thrown at them; and having submitted to restraint from this party, in a few instances, very impatiently, they insisted upon being opposed no further.

The trial of strength between the parties commenced

upon a discussion in the Convention relative to delivering General Miranda over to the Revolutionary Tribunal, which the Brissotines had determined to prevent, by denouncing Marat himself. He was accused of instigating the people to massacre; which charge he only answered by a declaration of his Republican principles and his love for the people, of whose attachment he protested that he would soon convince the Convention; and, accordingly, a most tremendous convulsion ensued in the galleries, which prevented any further discussion. "He threatens to excite the people to insurrection," was exclaimed from several parts of the hall; and, as soon as the debate could be resumed, his arrest was decreed. So far the Brissotines triumphed, but the decree against General Miranda passed also. The next day Petion moved for the repeal of the latter decree; "Miranda," he said, "was sacrificed by Dumourier, only for having the courage to denounce him four days before his treachery was revealed." This opinion would have been supported by the Maratists, if their accusations had had any other foundation than mere caprice; but they had thrown embarrassments and discord in the way of both Dumourier and Miranda from the same motives, and therefore declaimed against shewing lenity to conspirators. The galleries, at the same time, applauded their sanguinary doctrines, and hooted those members who spoke in favour of Petion's motion. The debate could not proceed until the military had cleared the hall, when Petion's motion was lost by the order of the day.

A still more conspicuous triumph was obtained by the Jacobins a few days afterwards, upon the acquittal of Marat from the charges of exciting to murder and carnage, and conspiring to dissolve the Convention. The hall was assailed on the 24th of April by a motley assemblage of those petitioners which had so frequently been headed by Petion, Santerre, &c. who demanded permission

to file through the Assembly, to testify their joy at the acquittal of the "Friend of the People." Leave being granted, the visitors proceeded to take possession of the unoccupied seats, and a general shout of, "Long live the Nation! long live Marat!" welcomed him to his place, to which he was conducted by a large body of the municipal officers and *gendarmes*. The deputies, as well as the mob, evinced the most frantic joy at the iniquitous acquittal of this secret assassin; and to him it was a victory undisturbed, for the Brissotines had prudently staid away.

A few interlocutory debates upon the new Constitution, the necessity of securing the Convention from disturbance, and the insurrections in the departments and in the colonies, occupied the two parties till the Maratists had completed all their arrangements with the Parisians, for seizing all the members of the Convention who were obnoxious to them, and erecting themselves into an oligarchy that should defy resistance. The public mind being sufficiently agitated by false reports of dangers and conspiracies, which nobody could trace, but everybody was sure would accomplish the destruction of every family in France; a sudden alarm was given, at four o'clock in the morning of the 31st of May, by the firing of guns, and the sounding of the tocsin, the great bell of the cathedral. This was the usual signal of insurrection and alarm; and it always had the effect of throwing the city into the utmost confusion. None but those who were immediately in the secret knew what were the dangers to be apprehended, or how they were to approach or be avoided. The Convention would be the rallying point in this case, as the palace had formerly been; and, if the opposition should not be sufficiently powerful, a few inflammatory speeches from the faction might arouse their partisans to rush upon the victims and massacre them out of hand; in which event, the ceremony of false accusation would be spared, and the risk of acquittal avoided. Such was

the plan of Marat, but it failed; for there were at Paris a number of armed volunteers from the departments which the Brissotines represented, who mixed amongst the crowd, and by their presence deterred the cowardly Parisians from proceeding to their usual acts of outrage. In the Convention the most violent tumult prevailed; and the only fact that could be intelligibly understood, was, that the administration and the police were divided, and that each party suspended the other, and contravened its orders as often as it got the majority; and every unconcerned spectator saw, that which ever of the parties should muster strongest would accuse the other of the conspiracy. The Brissotines, very foolishly, did not call out the armed men to their assistance, but trusted to their inviolability as members of the Convention; and therefore Marat overcame them by mere noise and clamour. He demanded a decree of accusation against them as the accomplices of Dumourier, though no charge could be worse founded. The mob did not think proper to define their charge too nicely, they would assign no other reason for demanding their heads but having "incurred their displeasure." Deputations were sent out to appease the people, and prevail upon them to let the Convention proceed in its deliberations. It was scarcely possible to obtain a hearing; the members were personally insulted, and no answer could be obtained but the uniform cry of "Accuse them! accuse them!" At length, overcome by fatigue and despair, the weak men joined the bad men, and a decree of arrest was passed, to consign twenty-four of the representatives and ministers over to the Revolutionary Tribunal. Three of them, however, had only been included in the demand because they had said something to offend Legendre, the butcher; and therefore Marat interceded to have them dismissed; which reduced the number to twenty-one.

' Some of these deputies were taken in their seats, and a few were arrested in attempting to conceal themselves; but the greater part of them escaped into the departments, where the Jacobins anticipated them with so many calumnies, that many of their own partisans were ready to abjure them as Royalists and traitors. They were pursued exactly as they had pursued the partisans of the King, with charges of the foulest kind, without the shadow of proof, and, though they had violated no law, they were hunted as rebels, and a price was set upon their heads.

Every person, from one boundary of France to the other, now saw that the very shadow of liberty had departed; and that if the majority of the Convention possessed the means of stifling the voice of the minority the system of representation was at an end; and many thousands of these determined to resist the usurpation of the oligarchy; and very powerful associations were formed in different parts of France, with a view to assist the proscribed deputies in restoring the Republic.

Experience had not been so advantageous to those deputies as might have been expected; notwithstanding the intrigues to which they had frequently resorted, whenever they had been determined to gain a point over the Royalists, they had no conception of seeing the same arts practised against themselves; and therefore many of them weakly imagined that they should be perfectly secure in their own innocence. Royalists they were not, and traitors they were not; this they could easily prove, whether they appeared before the Revolutionary Tribunal or before their constituents in their several departments; and thus some chose to throw themselves upon their trial and others into the arms of their friends.

Having thus set them upon a defence which should oblige them to avoid all connection with the Royalists, the Jacobins appointed commissaries in every place to

charge them with a new and undefined crime, called Federalism; the guilt of which they could magnify in proportion as the people were ignorant of its nature.

Petion, Gaudet, Gorsas, and several others, travelled into the Western departments in disguise, and on their journey they discovered, that, though they were generally acquitted of royalism, great prejudices were entertained against them as federalists. It was now that they saw, for the first time, the whole extent of their delusion. They now learned, that justice, to be pure, must be administered according to law; and that laws, to be just, must be passed with deliberation. Now they had discovered that laws are the offspring of reason, and that the people are guided by passion; that if the people are the *source* of government, they have not leisure to learn its principles; and that their judgment is more frequently the result of their own impatience than of the evidence of truth. With grief they now saw, that a government may be *cheap* without being *good;* and, that while they had been economical in expense, they had been dissipating everything which a good government would have secured to them. The bitterest regrets deprived them of their energies; and, when they arrived in the departments, they had not the courage left to muster their partisans, and hazard a single battle.

About twenty of the fugitives arrived at Cæn, in Calvados, where they found the brave defender of Thionville (General Wimpfen), at the head of 2,000 men, and in the centre of eight departments which had declared against the Convention. The men who had overthrown the Bastille on the 14th of July, and the palace on the 10th of August, were seeking a refuge from the scaffold; and they found themselves in the midst of an empire; here Gorsas found courage without the aid of his eloquence, and Petion found soldiers without the aid of intrigue: here were senators drawn from the seat of legislation; and here was a people in want of a govern-

ment! Circumstances were made for them, they were not called upon for any extraordinary effort; the only thing required of them was, to have followed their good fortune without going out of the ordinary course. A formal declaration of their legislative union, and an official protest against the proceedings of the Convention, would have brought all the Western departments under their banners; and the possession of Evreux, which General Wimpfen would have secured with 10,000 troops, would have enabled them to have cut off the principal supplies from Paris, and excluded it from the coast. Then might they have triumphed over the Convention, and have saved their country from what they considered the greatest of evils; but this their political bigotry would not permit. They suspected that both General Wimpfen and his partisans were Royalists, and they could not fight for justice in company with Royalists, without sharing it with them when it was obtained;—an idea as shocking to a Republican, as it would be for a Christian to admit an unbeliever into the same heaven with himself.

This fastidiousness obliged the Deputies to undertake a fresh journey, in hopes of making up an army all of their own opinions; but they were so long in reaching Bordeaux, that the Convention had found means to send troops before them, and the people had been dispersed for want of leaders: nothing remained but projects of escape, and these mostly failed them; except Louvet (who was perhaps the least guilty amongst them) they all either fell into the hands of the Jacobins, or perished of hunger in their hiding places.

What the profound designs of Providence were, that promoted the extraordinary successes of the Convention, posterity alone will be able to judge; yet it can hardly be doubted, that any influence short of supernatural, could have produced the blindness which disabled either the Republican Deputies, the Combined Powers, or the Emigrant Princes, from consolidating the rebellion,

which was, more or less, scattered all over France at this time.

Though the people were in want of leaders, they arose in some places in very great numbers; and, in several instances, were so powerful as to be able to send deputies to the Convention in defiance of its armed force, threatening to march against Paris unless their representatives were liberated. Angers, Bordeaux, Lyons, Rochfort, Nantes, Caen, Marseilles, Toulon, St. Malo, and all the neighbouring districts, were ready to proclaim Louis XVII. and the Constitution of 1789, whenever a standard might have been erected for them in a central point; but the Princes did not appear, and the Combined Powers neglected them; so that the Convention found means, by the terror of its police, and the power of its army, to prevent any regular correspondence being kept up between them.

Still a mighty armed force was found necessary to check this widely extended insurrection, and an active council might have overcome the difficulties that suppressed the energies of the insurgents. General Wimpfen directed their attention to England; and very properly, for, though there were many men of courage amongst them, there was not one who was capable of becoming the animating soul of so vast a body. An auxiliary power was therefore necessary to found a solid basis for the general hope; and that power was England, who could ensure supplies in the hour of struggle, and provide a retreat in the event of failure. But here again political bigotry opposed itself: the English government would willingly have assisted the Royalists, but General Wimpfen defended Thionville; how could he be a Royalist? he was as bad as Dumourier. But, even suppose it to be proper to treat with him, and his confidant M. Puisaye, was it possible to act with the Brissotines? No, they had been King killers and Republicans; and to admit the possibility of their repentance, would be a disavowal of all the

doctrines that had been advanced concerning them. There was yet no necessity for such a concession; for the British army had but recently entered the field, and it was gathering laurels very rapidly upon the frontiers in the regular way. After a struggle of four months, which had been equally creditable to the gallantry of both sides, the Combined Army had gained possession of Valenciennes, Condé, and Quesnoy; Mentz, having sustained a very desperate siege, had surrendered to the Prussians; and, as far as hard fighting went, everything was to be expected from the Royal troops.

THE END OF CHAP. XVIII.

CHAPTER XIX.

General Custine deprived of his Command, and guillotined....Houchard appointed in his Stead....The Duke of York defeated at Dunkirk....Sanguinary Decrees of the Convention....Dreadful Massacres....The Death of Marat, by Charlotte Cordé....Her intrepid Conduct, and her Execution with a young Man, who offered to perish for her.... Marat's Funeral....Barrere procures the Queen's removal to the Conciergerie....Her Execution....Character of the Jacobins....A Decree of a general Conscription, to recruit the Armies, and furnish them with Necessaries, &c....Despotism of Barrere, Tallien, &c....Houchard, Luckner, Madame Roland, Egalité, &c. guillotined....The French determine to prolong the War with England, and prohibit English Goods....Declining State of the French Trade....Effects of the Abolition of Slavery in the French Colonies.

THREE different plans were now proposed by the different powers for facilitating the march to Paris; one was for directing the principal operations against the departments of the North and of Calais; the second, to force their way to the metropolis by the Seine, and the rivers contiguous to it; by means of which, it would be an easy matter to convey all the stores and heavy artillery; and the third was, to take advantage of the confusion into which the Republic was thrown by the surrender of Valenciennes, &c. which had led to the accusation and execution of a great number of generals and officers, and to march with a very strong force from thence towards the capital. In either event, Spain was to penetrate on the side of the Pyrennees, and Prussia on that of the Rhine. Of these propositions the first was adopted; and the Austrians undertook to reduce Cambray, while the Duke of York marched to besiege Dunkirk; and this

gave the Convention the only advantage it wanted, which was time to place all the resources of the Republic at the disposal of undoubted Jacobins.

The Commissioners stationed with the army had an opportunity of discovering the talents and principles of the different officers, and they made no scruple of raising a subaltern to a command, at the expence of his superior officer, if they saw the smallest preference. General Custine, who had undertaken the unpopular task of reforming the vices of his army, found himself so much disliked, that he would not venture to attack the Combined Armies, so long as they were contented to waste their time in battering down fortresses. He knew that the time which they lost would be of the greatest advantage to him in training the hordes of recruits which daily arrived from the departments; and that a few weeks would put him into a condition to recover all that had been lost by the retreat of Dumourier. Not so methodical were the reasonings of the Commissioners, they imagined that in a little time the Combined Powers might recover their senses, and the lives of forty or fifty thousand undisciplined soldiers were nothing to them; they would put double the number in training to be ready to supply their places; and if the General would not assail the enemy's intrenchments with the army that he had got, they would appoint some general that would. His military objections were of no avail, and only served to prove that he was an Aristocrat, by his attachment to an old system, and therefore they had him arrested, upon the charge of assisting the enemy, by his manœuvres and delays: no consideration was paid to his former services and victories; gratitude, was a weakness which a Republican would have been ashamed of having been seen to practice; and to prove himself wholly incapable of its influence, was a *Jacobin virtue*. Without hesitation, therefore, General Houchard was appointed commander in chief, and Custine was guillotined as a traitor.

Various trifling successes brought the Duke of York before Dunkirk on the 25th of August; but by a species of criminal negligence which invariably prevailed under Mr. Pitt's administration, the naval force which was to have co-operated with his Royal Highness, did not arrive in time; and the French were enabled to collect troops from the armies of the Rhine and Moselle before the British were in readiness to commence the attack. On the 7th of September, therefore, General Houchard sallied out of the garrison, and by an impetuous onset, supported by his gun-boats, completely routed the besieging army, and took the greatest part of the artillery and stores.

The siege of Cambray succeeded no better; and it became evident that this plan was wholly inefficient. Many of the powers were now discouraged at their ill success; and as it was considered that England had the loudest voice in forming the arrangements, they expected her to pay a considerable part of their expenses, as the price of their further co-operation. England, on the contrary, became more earnest in the contest, in proportion as she was driven further from her object; for, as the war had been undertaken by her Ministers, chiefly with a view to secure their own places, and the system of corruption by which they procured their popularity, they were willing to make any sacrifice rather than acknowledge a defeat. Some naval advantages had been obtained, and very extensive arrangements were making, by which the French Colonies in the East and West Indies were to be put into the hands of Great Britain by their Commanders; which encouragements induced the Ministry to grant subsidies to most of the powers of Europe; and thus it was determined to try the event of another campaign.

The interior of France became every day more convulsed and scarcely a town or village escaped the punishment of military execution. Aristocrats, Royalists,

Priests or Federalists were supposed to be concealed by their friends all over the country, and the most severe and sanguinary decrees were passed by the Convention against those unhappy persons, and all who assisted them. Children were dragged to execution for endeavouring to preserve their parents from the scaffold; and wives for shewing acts of kindness to their husbands under sentence. Passengers were not allowed to travel the roads without having their passports witnessed at every turnpike; nor any inhabitant to go to rest till he had furnished the police with a list of all who were to sleep under his roof. Every means were contrived to afford an excuse for destroying the people, as if the Convention had consisted of monsters, who only took pleasure in shedding of blood; yet was the example of BRUTUS, and that more recent one of their own heroic countryman PARIS, lost upon these pusillanimous Frenchmen; and it was left to a young woman to inflict justice upon the leader of these wretches.

Charlotte Cordé, from Caen, in the department of Calvados, conceived the design of freeing her country from the dominion of Marat, whom she considered as the greatest monster upon earth; notwithstanding she was assured that her life would fall a sacrifice to the undertaking. Anxious for the accomplishment of her designs, she wrote him a letter on the 12th of July, intimating that she had matters of the last importance to communicate, on which the salvation of the country might be said to depend. No answer being returned to this request, she made a second application in these words: "Have you received my letter? If you have recived it, I rest on your politeness. It is enough that I am unfortunate to claim your attention." On the 13th, in the evening, she procured admittance, when the conversation turned on the alarming situation of Cæn, and the views of the Deputies who had there taken refuge. Marat observed that it would not be long before the traitors should be apprehended, and pay for

their rebellion by the forfeiture of their heads upon a scaffold. This declaration fired the heroic Charlotte with inconceivable rage; and, finding a favourable moment for the accomplishment of her designs, she plunged a dagger to his heart. The perpetration of this deed inspired her with no trepidation; she departed from the house with manifest symptoms of tranquillity, and on being informed, when arrested, that she would unquestionably be punished with death, her conduct to the officers exhibited the most sovereign contempt.

She was tried the same day before the Revolutionary Tribunal, where the firmness of her answers, and the intrepidity of her manner, excited general admiration. She treated the phalanx of her infamous judges with a degree of contempt, that shewed how little justice she thought was to be obtained from them. "Where was the necessity of bringing me before you?" said she, "I thought I should be given up to the rage of the Parisians, and be torn to pieces by them; I hoped that my head, stuck at the top of a pike, would have preceded Marat on the state bed, to be a rallying point to Frenchmen, if there are still any worthy of being called so; but if I am not to be so honoured, my memory will soon be honoured by all France." Sentence of death was immediately pronounced upon this heroine, and she was guillotined the same day.

This glorious deed appears worthy of greater admiration, as it was the effect of pure patriotism. The gallant maid had spoken to Barbaroux, Louvet, and several of the Deputies at Cæn, without intimating her design, or betraying any emotions of suspicion; nor was she any way affected by the cruelties of the Convention, than as she witnessed, in common with every other person in France, the wanton slaughter and devastation that were scattered all around by Marat's system. She had undertaken the journey on purpose, and knew what would be the issue as to herself.

The virtue of this one damsel did more good to the cause of mankind, than all the councils, and all the princes, and all the armies who raised their puny strength against that infamous Convention. She inspired her countrymen with a degree of resentment which, as it will be seen in the sequel, accomplished her own prophecy. Her fate was hardly pronounced, when a young man, fired with admiration at her firmness, intreated the judges to accept him in her place, and to be guillotined instead of her. His petition they would not grant, but they sent him to the guillotine with her. Another man, a member of the Convention (Adam Lux), penetrated with equal admiration, hastily composed an oration in honour of the action, in which he proposed to erect a statue to the heroine, inscribed, GREATER THAN BRUTUS. His head also they cut of.

Marat was buried with great funeral pomp, and the ceremony was attended by all the Members of the Convention, and all the assassins of Paris: and, to testify their attachments to his blood-thirsty sentiments, the Convention ordered his bust to be placed in their hall. No immediate effect was produced by the death of this anarchist, for the goverment was in the hands of a Committee of Public Safety, consisting of seven of his purest disciples, who seldom ventured to take breath, without looking round to see what heads they could cut off. Out of about 37,000 victims that they had secured in the different prisons of the Republic, they had for some time overlooked the Queen and her children. Their spokesman, Barrere, the greatest coward in all France—the most complete poltroon in all Europe, now asked leave of the Convention to make the necessary arrangements for sending her Majesty to the guillotine in the most offensive manner that could be devised. Accordingly, at 12 o'clock at night on the 1st of August, two police officers were sent to the Temple, with a hackney coach, to remove her from the Temple to the common prison.

The removel was attended with every circumstance of systematical cruelty. Her Majesty was not allowed a moment's notice, but was obliged to rise out of bed and deliver up to the officers every article she had, which only consisted of 25 Louis, and her pocket book. The wretches suffered her to take leave of her sister Elizabeth and her daughter, but refused to let her see her son, assigning as a reason, that "he was innocent, and would not suffer;" which was clearly indicating to her that both the Princess Elizabeth and the Princess Royal were to follow her to the guillotine.

After being confined two months at the Conciergeric, in a cell eight feet square, half under ground, with no other furniture than a bag filled with straw to sleep upon, and a soup diet; the innocent, the generous, the dignified, the persecuted Maria Antoinette, Queen of France, daughter of Maria Theresa, and sister of the Emperor Joseph, was brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, to receive its predetermined sentence. It would be mockery to speak of a trial, for no such proceeding took place in France during two years, from the 10th of August, 1792. The sentence of the Queen, and every other person, that was passed in that period, whether of acquittal or condemnation, was determined by those infamous judges before they came into court, without any regard to the evidence whatever it might be.

During the whole *procès* her majesty preserved a calm and steady countenance, she played with her fingers upon the bar of the chair with an appearance of unconcern, and it seemed as if she were playing on the forte-piano.

When she heard her sentence read, she did not shew the smallest alteration in her countenance, and left the Hall without saying a single word to the judges or to the people. It was half past four o'clock in the morning of October 16. the Queen was conducted to the condemned hold in the prison of the Conciergerie.

At five o'clock the *generale* was beat. At seven, the

whole armed force was on foot; cannon were planted upon the squares, and at the extremities of the bridges, from the palace to the Square de la Revolution. At ten o'clock, numerous patroles passed through the streets. At half past eleven o'clock in the morning, Marie Antoinette was brought out of the prison, dressed in a white *dishabille*. Like other malefactors, she was conducted to the place of execution. Her hair from behind was entirely cut off, and her hands were tied behind her back. Besides her *dishabille*, she wore a very small white cap. Her back was turned to the horse. During her trial, she wore a dress of a black and white mixture. On her right was seated the executioner; upon the left a constitutional priest, belonging to the Metropolitan church of *Notre Dame*, dressed in a grey coat, and wearing what is commonly called a bob wig. She was escorted by numerous detachments of horse and foot. Henriot, Ronsin, and Boulanger, general of the revolutionary army, preceded by the rest of their staff officers, rode before.

An immense number of people crowded the streets, and she seldom cast her eyes upon the populace, and beheld with indifference the great armed force of 30,000 men which lined the streets in double ranks. The sufferings which she sustained during her captivity had much altered her appearance, and the hair on her forehead appeared as white as snow.

The Queen kept speaking to the priest seated by her side. Her spirits were neither elevated nor depressed: she seemed quite insensible to the shouts of the populace. When she passed through the street called *Rue St. Honoré*, she sometimes attentively looked at the inscriptions of the words *Liberty* and *Equality* affixed to the outside of the houses. She ascended the scaffold with seeming haste and impatience; and then turned her eyes with great emotion towards the garden of the Thuilleries, the former abode of her greatness.

At a quarter past twelve o'clock, the guillotine severed her head from her body. She died in the thirty-eighth year of her age.

The executioner shewed the head from the four different corners of the scaffold. The spectators instantly cried, *Vive la Republique!*

The corpse was immediately after buried in a grave filled with quick-lime, in the church-yard called *de la Madelaine*, where Louis XVI. was buried in the same manner.

The murder of this Princess took place amidst the shouts of the Parisians, and all the *courage and gallantry of the Great Nation* was collected to overwhelm and insult a feeble—defenceless woman! Three persons were detected in dipping their handkerchiefs in her blood; they were instantly arrested;—how they were disposed of is unknown, they were never liberated, but they were never executed, *at least not publicly.*

Barrere and his associates had been guilty of so many crimes, that they knew the most exemplary punishments would overtake them if they did not secure their power, as well against the Combined Armies and the Royalists, as against the Republicans, now everywhere in arms. To the members of this government the destruction of all France was nothing compared with their own preservation; and accordingly they resolved upon such a comprehensive system of requisition, as should place France, with every being, animate and inanimate that it possessed, at their own absolute an uncontrouled disposal. It was not enough that by the constant sacrifice of life, and the consequent confiscations of wealth, the national domains rapidly increased in their hands; they would not be satisfied till the whole property of France was in their power also; accordingly Barrere proposed to the Convention a decree for obliging *every person to deliver in a true statement of his whole property, and how it had been acquired;* "in order that the Committee of Public Safety might raise a loan without oppressing the poor." The nominal

amount of the loan was only twelve millions; but, though the crafty Committee had laid it so low, the wary members of the Convention saw its consequences so clearly, that they wished the reporter to *re-consider* his motion before he pressed it upon the Assembly. In truth there were a few delicate feelings, by which some of the leading Jacobins were governed, that the Committee did not calculate upon; and, which not being of a nature to admit of explanation, kept them blundering on upon many occasions, when their measures did not meet with entire approbation. The squeamishness of the Convention upon this occasion did not arise out of any objection to such a trifling loan; nor to its being a forced loan; nor even to its putting all the property of the country into the hands of their Committee; these were altogether burdens which the legislature could have contrived to throw upon the shoulders of others, but it was a very different thing when the Committee came to talk of every man giving an account how he acquired his money; yet what hunter after popularity could appear to resist a proposition which would transfer all the riches of the Aristocrats and Royalists at the mercy of the Republic.

To explain the particular motive for the caution of the legislature upon this solitary occasion, it is necessary to observe, that the Jacobins themselves consisted of two distinct and very different classes of men, at least of beings, which for want of appropriate terms are designated men. One of those classes were mere philosophical cut-throats—honest fellows, who openly avowed their object, and publicly declared their determination to wade to it, even though it might be through seas of blood. The ruling passion of these demagogues was ambition, and if they could but be great, they neither wanted to be rich, luxurious, gay, nor agreeable; in money matters, therefore, they were scrupulously exact; and their duty was performed with the strictest regard to moral rectitude; they could consequently have no objection to the

examination of all their accounts by the Commissioners of the Republic. To this class belonged Marat, Barrere, Robespierre, Danton, Carnot, Billaud Varennes, Collet d'Herbois, and all the members of the Committee. The difference between this class and the Republicans was, that the latter would not effect an object, by means of bloodshed, till they had passed laws which should cloak their injustice, and sanctify their crimes; whereas this first class of Jacobins required no cloak at all, and regarded the law as an unnecessary embarrassment. The second class of Jacobins were perfectly united with the first in their determinations to accomplish their object, whatever sacrifice it might require; but there was a slight difference of opinion that they had thought proper to conceal, and which related to that article of rigid patriotism that called upon a person to confine his wants within what might properly be called his own property; in fine, they had rejected this article as wholly superfluous in the Jacobinical creed; for they could not comprehend why any person should set up the trade of robbing and murdering those who possessed the good things of the world, unless they were allowed to reserve a considerable portion of those good things for their own enjoyment. Of this class was Santerre, Tallien, Legendre, Lecointre, the Hebertists, and a great part of the Couvention, who had indulged themselves in many expensive habits, which they could not maintain if they were allowed " to profit by the reign of liberty," and this would be impossible, if the inquiry proposed by the Committee were to be set afloat.

A gentle recommendation to Barrere to re-consider his motion, was all that could be said upon the subject; and if the Committee should be too dull to take the hint;— why, then, said Tallien, "*patience.*" No other part of the plan was objected to, and it was decreed, that all unmarried men and widowers, from the age of 18 to 25, should march to the armies, and that men of all ages should be put

in requisition. That married men should forge arms and transport provisions; the women make tents and clothes, and wait in the hospitals, and make lint of old linen; and the old men should *cause themselves* to be carried to the public squares, to excite the courage of the warriors, to preach hatred of kings, and the unity of the Republic. That the national edifices should be converted into storehouses; the ground of the cellars be washed with ley, to extract saltpetre; that all horses, carriages, muskets, fowling-pieces, and arms of every kind, should be delivered up for the use of the Republic. That all the plate of the churches should be coined for the national treasury, and all the bells be melted to be cast into cannon; and that the representatives appointed to enforce these decrees should be invested with *unlimited* authority.

So far secure, the next object of the Committee was to provide for its own permanency, which might be hazarded by the adoption of the constitution, that had been long under discussion; for that constitution, being truly Republican, had guarded against the possibility of any government continuing in power against the will of the people, it was therefore the project of this Committee to prevent any constitution being adopted.

With this view, Barrere proposed (August 28), that France should be considered in a state of revolution, until all the other powers should have acknowledged the Republic. This proposition was a bribe to the Convention; for being only chosen for the purpose of forming a constitution, it was at a loss for an excuse that should justify its refusal to dissolve, but here it was provided; and the nation, after all the horrors it had suffered in the name of liberty, was robbed of its franchises by a hasty decree. Now the Talliens and the Legendres were, not merely kings—those unblushing men, (who, not one year before, had plunged their country into a civil war, to retrieve it, as they pretended, from the yoke of a chief

magistrate, every one of whose actions was regulated by the law) were tyrants, created without law, and placed above the law. Inquiry into their conduct now, if not severely scrutinous, they might find means to overcome; and should the Committee be stupid enough to become troublesome, some means might be found to send them by the same road as the Brissotines.

Without limiting the expenditure of the Committee therefore to any sum, it was instantly decreed, "That all persons should give an account of their property and possessions, and that such an assessment should be made as the Committee of Finance should think proper."

The English government had very expeditiously sent a reinforcement to the Duke of York, under Sir Charles (now Earl) Grey, which enabled the Allies to maintain a stand in Flanders longer than the French expected; and they thought it necessary to strike terror into the army, and to stimulate it to exertions of the most desperate kind, by a new example of severity. Barrere, therefore moved for leave to have General Houchard guillotined; "because," said he, "some facts expose him to strong suspicions; first, that, after defeating the English, he did not throw them into the sea; secondly, that when he surrounded the Dutch he did not cut them to pieces; thirdly, that he sent no succour to the troops at Cambray; and, fourthly, that in retreating from Menin, he exposed his rear to great danger." It need hardly be said that Houchard was guillotined. Marshal Luckner followed him shortly after, as also Madame Roland, because she would not declare the place of her husband's concealment; then Phillippe Egalite, Duke of Orleans, and twenty-one of the Brissotines. This number having been completed, although Petion, Roland, and many others, were not yet taken, still it was thought that the Convention was not sufficiently *purified*, and therefore fifty-four more of the members were arrested, who were

occasionally guillotined, as the Committee found those executions necessary to answer its purposes.

The Jacobin government was personally as deeply interested in the *success* of the war as that of England; but, after the decree of the 28th of August, it was strongly interested in its *duration*; for should peace be concluded, it would be impossible "to consider France in a state of revolution." Regarding England therefore as become the principal in the war; the Committee of Public Safety adopted such a conduct towards that government as should irritate it beyond the possibility of reconciliation. Barrere used, occasionally, to make pompous harangues, for the purpose of what he called *denouncing* the English government. Billaud Varennes thought the most offensive thing that could be done, was to talk of a descent upon England, and to insult both the government and people by abusive language. "We must attack Rome in Rome itself," said he; "let the fate of Carthage be the fate of England, and let her proud capital be levelled to the dust!" and, shortly afterwards, a measure of of vindictive malice, which was *not* against the government *but against the people*, was adopted? all English goods and manufactures were strictly prohibited throughout France, which it was idly supposed would convert all the manufacturers of Birmingham, Sheffield, Manchester, and Glasgow into beggars, and totally ruin the country. Meantime the British navy was so successful, and opened so many new channels of commerce, that this foolish decree was hardly felt; and, in a few years the trade of England encreased to such an astonishing extent, that more merchants and others made fortunes in England between the years 1796 and 1800, then ever were made in any age or country in the same space of time.

Instead of *ruining* England, the Convention was constantly hearing of some new disaster happening to the trade and commerce of France, until it became nearly annihilated. Decrees had been passed for granting liber-

ty to the slaves; and they had not been merely freed from their iniquitious bondage, but their uninformed minds had imbibed, within about two years, as many crude notions about liberty and equality, as would have required a whole century to digest. The poor creatures were not simply informed that their masters were tyrants and oppressors, but they were left without any guide, as to the moral obligations imposed on them by their new condition; and as it never occurred to them, that in the recovery of their rights, they were still bound to the performance of duties, they conceived freedom from service to mean freedom from labour; and by a literal construction of the doctrines they were taught, they expected to share land as well as liberty with their masters. Idleness and want soon spread themselves through all the black tribes in the West Indies; and then they proceeded to pillage the whites, which being resisted, many dreadful ravages and slaughters took place; the repetition of which, the constituted authorities were incapable of preventing. Various applications were made to the Mother country by the planters, but the Commissioners appointed by Government, were equally as frantic in their notions of liberty as the legislators themselves, so that the planters saw no probability of an equitable system being established; and, at last, the Convention learned that the Colonies had invited the English to take possession of them.

THE END OF CHAP. XIX.

CHAPTER XX.

*Agreement between the Toulonese and the English to deliver up Toulon....The Combined Armies obtain Possession of Toulon and the French Fleet....The exertion of the National Commissioners to retake the Town....The French take Fort Faron, are driven from it, and the Detachment utterly routed....General O'Hara arrives at Toulon as Governor ....Dugommier appointed to the Command of the Army before Toulon, which is reinforced by the Army from Lyons ....*BUONAPARTE *appointed to the Command of the Artillery by the interest of Salicetti with Barras....His Operation successful....Governor O'Hara wounded and made Prisoner ...The French pursue the Siege vigorously....Mount Faron attacked by the Combined Troops, who are at length routed.... Buonaparté signalizes himself in the Action....His disdain of Instruction from Barras....Toulon evacuated....The dreadful Situation of the Inhabitants....The French Fleet in the Harbour partially destroyed....The French re-enter Toulon, and indiscriminately butcher the people, destroy the Town, and celebrate the Event at Paris by a Festival....The Southern Insurrections....The Siege and Capture of Lyons, and the dreadful Fate of the City and its Inhabitants.*

ALTHOUGH the evil genius of the English ministry prevented them from sending any auxiliary force to the ports in the Channel, the contiguity of which to their shore, would have enabled them to have poured in supplies enough to have encouraged and collected all the Insurgents before the Convention were prepared for resistance; the chance of getting possession of a French fleet was too powerful a temptation to permit them to refuse a similar invitation from the inhabitants of Toulon. By an arrangement entered into between certain Commissioners from that port and Marseilles, on the part of their fellow

citizens, and Lord Hood, on behalf of Great Britain, it was agreed that those ports should be delivered up by the inhabitants to the English, to be retained until peace should take place; and in the event of the Monarchy being restored, then to be returned to France.

The execution of those conditions, as far as related to Marseilles, was prevented, by the Republican General Carteau taking possession of it before the British troops arrived there. Toulon fell into the hands of Lord Hood; and it was in that distant region that the British government commenced a co-operation with the Royalists, which nearly exhausted the hopes of that patriotic body, and became the procuring cause of fixing the destiny of France, by first displaying the skill, and introducing into public notice that extraordinary genius, which at every moment subsequent to that period has influenced the Hero of these pages.

After some resistance on the part of the French fleet in the harbour of Toulon, which was occasioned by a difference between Admirals Trogoff and St. Julien, its commanders, a part of the English troops were landed; but scarcely had they taken possession of the place and the fleet, when Barras and Freron, the two National Commissioners at Marseilles, made incredible exertions to regain Toulon. The Convention eagerly co-operated, by transmiting enormous sums to the Southern Departments, for the raising and equiping an immense multitude of new battalions.

Some skirmishing ensued between the French and English troops, which ended in the French obtaining one of the advanced posts, and compelling the Coalesced Forces to concentrate themselves within the forts that protected the place. The English erected redoubts on all the heights, and furnished them with the cannon taken from the lower decks of the French line of battle ships, and large reinforcements of Spanish, Sardinian, and Sicilian troops arrived to the succour of the garrison.

Barras and Freron, Commissioners from the Convention, assembled all the young men in requisition from the departments; they were supplied with an immense quantity of artillery, and a reinforcement of 25,000 troops were ordered from Lyons. Each army was employed in attacking and defending detached posts; and the heights of *La Grasse* were defended by heavy cannon, dragged up a very steep ascent with infinite labour and extraordinary dispatch.

The French were equally indefatigable in the night of the 30th of September; they made an attack on fort Faron and succeeded. So important was the possession of this post, which was abandoned by the Spanish garrison, that it was, even at that period, calculated to render the possession of Toulon precarious. A council of officers immediately assembled, and it was determined to re-obtain the redoubt. An obstinate engagement was fought, and the French upon the heights at length abandoned Faron, and not more then a fourth of their number returned to head quarters; for those who did not fall by the bullet or bayonet, broke their necks in tumbling headlong over the precipices in their flight. The English afterwards succeeded in destroying two new batteries which were likely to annoy the fleet; but such was the ardour and perseverance of the French, that a detachment under General Lapoype, stormed and took possession of the heights of Cape Brun. The success of this event, acquired by superiority of numbers, rendered the fate of the garrison daily more hazardous.

About the end of October a reinforcement from Gibralter arrived, under the command of Lieutenant General O'Hara, who had been appointed Governor of Toulon; and afterwards, by a commission under the great seal of England, he, Lord Hood and Sir Gilbert Elliot, were appointed Commissioners Plenipotentiary of his Britanic Majesty. Dugommier was appointed Commander in Chief of the French army: he had distinguished him-

self by his victories over the forces of the King of Sardinia, and the soldiers were much attached to him. The Deputies furnished cannon, ammunition, and provisions in abundance: whatever the besiegers required, was obtained by immediate requisitions; and all the exploits of the Republican troops were at once witnessed and rewarded by the representatives of the people. Large reinforcements arrived from Lyons, and invested the city with animated expectations of success.

The French Deputies had superintended the arrangement of an immense body of artillery, which was opposed to the great naval arsenal of the South. The conquest or surrender of this arsenal it was determined should be obtained at any rate. The importance of the service required that it should be committed to the management of an engineer, every way worthy of the occasion; and the Deputies deliberated with caution before they ventured to nominate a person to the appointment.

At length Napoleon Buonaparté, who had re-entered the corps of artillery, and served in it as a lieutenant; was recommended by his countryman Salicetti, the Deputy from Corsica, and one of the National Commissioners with the army at Toulon, to Barras, who immediately promoted him to the rank of General and gave him the command of the artillery destined for the reduction of the arsenal. The event justified the prudence of the appointment, for our Hero contributed, by his military talents, greatly to effect the decision of both the fate of Toulon and of France.

The first military operation of Buonaparté was decisive of success. Seeing that the possession of Malbousquet, one of the principal outposts of Toulon, would enable him to bombard the town and arsenal, he opened a strong battery of heavy cannon and mortars on the height of Arenes, which annoyed that position exceedingly, by means of an incessant fire of shot and shells. Governor

O'Hara observing the necessity of taking immediate and effectual measures for the security of so important a post, determined to destroy the new works, which were termed the Convention Battery, and carry off the artillery.

Having procured a reinforcement of seamen from the fleet, to defend a post, from which he proposed to withdraw some British soldiers; at five o'clock in the morning of the 30th of November, a corps of 400 British, 300 Sardinians, 600 Neapolitans, 600 Spaniards, and 400 French, marched from the town, under the command of Sir David Dundas. Notwithstanding they were obliged to cross the new river on one bridge only, to divide afterwards into four columns, to march across olive grounds, intersected by stone walls, and to ascend a very considerable height, cut into vine terraces, they succeeded in surprising the redoubt; but instead of forming upon and occupying the long and narrow summit of the hill, agreeable to orders and military prudence, after having effected all the objects of the expedition; they impetuously followed the French troops, descended the heights, ascended other distant heights, and at length were compelled to retreat, by the French, who suddenly profited by their disorder, and obliged them to relinquish the advantages they had at first obtained. General O'Hara, who had ascended the battery as soon as the French were dispossessed, and when he supposed the object of the day had been obtained, arrived in time to witness the sudden reverse, and to be wounded and made prisoner by the French. His wound, though not dangerous, had bled much, and, added to the exertions he had before made, he was so far weakened that he could not retire many paces with the troops, but insisted on being left by two soldiers who were conducting him, and whom he ordered to proceed and save themselves.

The expectations of the besiegers were much raised by this event, they began to make nearer approaches to the town; and by means of their batteries, not only attacked

several important posts, but threatened a general assault. The garrison was in a very alarming situation; the French army which amounted to near 40,000 men, was constantly encreasing, and commanded by an intrepid and able general; and their batteries were managed under the direction of Buonaparté; who, though a mere youth, displayed the most cool and dauntless courage. The Allied Troops never exceeded 12,000 rank and file, and were now greatly diminished by disease and death: they were composed of the natives of five different nations, from whom an entire and firm co-operation could not, from the difference of their language and other obvious causes, be expected. These had to defend a circumference of fifteen miles, including eight principal and intermediate posts, which alone required 9,000 men.

The siege was now pursued with encreased vigour. The French relieved such of their troops as were fatigued, and at two o'clock in the morning of the 17th of December, opened two new batteries on Fort Mulgrave; and from these, and three former ones, continued a very heavy cannonade and bombardment, which killed many of the troops and destroyed the works. The weather proving rainy, they secretly assembled a large body of forces, with which they stormed the fortification, and entered with screwed bayonets, on the side defended by the Spaniards, upon which the British and other troops were obliged to retire toward the shore of Balaquier.

At day-break another attack took place on all the posts occupied by the garrison on the mountain of Faron. They were repulsed however, on the East side, by about 700 men, commanded by Colonel Jermagnan, a Piedmontese officer, who perished on the occasion; but they found means to penetrate by the back of the mountain, although 1,800 feet high, and deemed inaccessible, so as to occupy the side which overlooks Toulon. In this day's fight, the English troops conducted themselves with great bravery, while the French, invigorated by

their enthusiasm, and trusting to their numbers, charged with unusual intrepidity and success. The Deputy Arena, who was a Corsican, headed one of their columns; and General Cervoni, a subject of the King of Sardinia, particularly distinguished himself. The new general, Buonaparté, signalized himself on several occasions by a promptiude of exertion which marked him for one of the ablest candidates for military glory and renown. It is stated that, in the midst of the engagement, Barras found fault with the direction of a gun, which had been pointed under the order of Buonaparté: the young General requested he would attend to his duty as a National Commissioner; "I will do my duty," said he, "according to my own judgment, and be answerable for the consequences with my head." Neither friend nor foe were capable of inducing him to forego any purpose which he had planned.

The British Commander called a council of flag and general officers, who deemed it impracticable to regain the posts that had been taken; and, as the town was not tenable, while they remained in possession of the enemy, it was determined that Toulon should be evacuated. The troops were accordingly withdrawn, and, in the course of the evening of the 17th of December, the Combined Fleet occupied a new station in the outer road. Early next morning the sick and wounded, and the British field artillery, were sent off; the Neapolitans having abandoned their post, without orders, embarked at noon; and measures were taken to withdraw the British, Piedmontese, and Spaniards, amounting to about 7,000 men, during the night.

It was necessary that the retreat should be effected as soon as possible, for the enemy not only commanded the town by their shot and shells, but also some of the ships. The Allies removed their shipping beyond the reach of the shot and shells with which they were assailed by the enemy without intermission, till ten o'clock at night of

the 19th of December, when the town was set fire to in different places by the Allies, as well as part of the shipping, after which they began a precipitate retreat and the Republicans took possession next morning at three o'clock. The haste with which the place was abandoned, left much property and a number of vessels an easy prey to the conquerors, but left the inhabitants in a situation truly melancholy and deplorable. When they perceived that flight was resolved on, they repaired in multitudes to the shores, and requested the protection, from their greatest enemies, which the crown of Britain had pledged itself to grant them. It must indeed be acknowledged that several efforts were made to convey thousands of them to the ships, yet it was found impossible not to leave multitudes behind to suffer the incalculable tortures which would, no doubt, be inflicted on them by their incensed countrymen. Numbers of them were beheld to take away their own lives, deeming that a more lenient method of terminating existence than what they had to expect from the Republicans; while others threw themselves into the water, making many fruitless efforts to come at the British vessels. The flames continued to spread with astonishing rapidity, and the ships previously set on fire were every moment in danger of blowing up, and burying every thing around them in irretrievable destruction.

But if the land exhibited such a scene of horror, the spectacle was no less dreadful on board the ships. These were filled with a motley group of all decriptions, men, women and children, old and young, and of various nations. To add to their calamities, they had on board the sick from all the hospitals, and the festering wounds of those who were yet undrest, became extremely offensive as well as dangerous. A sight so horrible was perhaps only exceeded by the dolorous complaints and mournful cries of multitudes for their husbands, fathers,

or children, who had been unavoidably left on shore. No colouring of language could do justice to this tremendous scene.

In addition to all the miseries already mentioned, they had to struggle with an almost real famine, as the food on board was not nearly sufficient for such an immense multitude, and almost unfit for use. The British found thirty-one ships of the line at Toulon, thirteen of which were left behind, nine burnt in the harbour, and one at Leghorn, besides four more which Lord Hood had sent to Brest and Rochfort, with 5,000 seamen belonging to France, whom he was under considerable apprehensions it would be dangerous to confide in.* It appears therefore, that Great Britain *acquired* by this sanguinary and expensive expedition to Toulon, no more than three ships of the line and five frigates. The French gained from the allies more than a hundred peices of cannon, four hundred oxen, sheep, and hogs, together with vast quantities of forage, and every species of provision.

Thus, after a siege of about three months, and an incessant assault for five days and nights, Toulon was restored to France. The besieging army had provided 4,000 ladders for an assault; but, on the evacuation of the place, they entered it at 7 o'clock in the morning of the 19th of December, 1793.

Some of the inhabitants who had favoured the Allies, remained behind, and perished, either by their own hands or the guillotine. On the Royalists at Toulon, as well as at Marseilles, the most cruel punishments were inflicted, and the victory of the conquerers was sullied by a terrible and indiscriminate carnage. The population became daily and visibly decreased by the continual butchery of the people. The principal habitations were destroyed by workmen, who were invited from the neighbouring departments to demolish the town. The name of Toulon was changed for that of Port de la Montagne; and

grand festival was celebrated at Paris in honour of the event, to which the members of the Convention went in procession.

The genius and talents of Buonaparté were developed by this siege; it was a stage worthy of his action, and the remembrance of his exertions at this important period, was serviceable to his future advancement in the armies of the Republic.

During the siege of Toulon; a conflict, equally sanguinary, took place at Lyons; but the people of this place proceeded with more caution, for they maintained the indivisibility of the Republic, and professed the warmest attachment to the Convention, at the time that they were collecting troops, with the greatest activity, to repel any army that might be sent against them, when they should think proper to shew their insurgency. The chief inhabitants were persons who had obtained wealth by trade and manufactures, who were desirous of enjoying their property in ease and safety, and were but little solicitous about the triumph of liberty. Many of the ancient nobles, and a multitude of emigrants and priests were sheltered there; and the crimes of the violent demagogues, who arrogated to themselves the name of patriots, tended to excite in Lyons a powerful insurrection.

The opulent inhabitants were treated with great cruelty by Laupel, a constitutional priest, and Chalier, the mayor, who had gained over the populace by bribes and largesses. The vaults under the townhouse were filled with prisoners; and the greatest part of the townsmen expected that plunder, captivity, and perhaps death, would be their fate. Their fears were encreased by the disaffected who pretended that the Jacobins merely awaited the arrival of some troops from Kellerman in order to commence a slaughter of all the Royalists, by shutting the gates to prevent their escape, and then delivering them over to the "national axe."

The fears of these unfortunate people being thus height-

ened, induced them to attempt the destruction of the power from which they apprehended so much evil. The sections met, under pretence of adopting measures of general safety, and seized on the arsenal. The excesses which are usual on insurrections, excited by the threats of one party operating to produce desperation in the minds of the other, were committed without remorse. The Municipality was devoted to the Convention, and took refuge in the townhouse; but, in the night of the 29th of May, they were dragged forth by the infuriated people, and, after a short process before an incompetent tribunal, the Mayor was deposed and put to death.

The Lyonese invited the leaders of the departments of the Rhone, the Gironde, and Calvados, to form a Congress within their walls. Two deputies arrived, but it appeared the Departments were attached to Republican forms, and the conference dropped.

Marseilles had appointed two Commissioners from each of its sections. All Provence followed the example, and the insurrection became formidable. It was resolved that a congress should be held at Bourges, to regulate the general interests, and that two representatives and a battalion from each district should assemble there. The Convention were informed of these events, and General Cartaux was detatched from the army of Italy, at the critical period when two battalions from Marseilles and Aix, destined for Lyons, had taken possession of Avignon. They immediately however abandoned the place, and the river Durance separated the forces of each party.

It became necessary to augment the battalions. Rousset was elected general; but, sensible of his own incapacity, returned voluntarily to the ranks as a private. Villeneuve-Tourette, formerly a colonel in the reigment of Artois, was next appointed, and, being joined by some troops from Toulon, gave Cartaux battle. They at first gained some advantage, but the Conventional troops having been augmented they became triumphant, and the

principal cities being thus bereft of the benefits they hoped from their united force, were now reduced to their separate resources.

Marseilles was driven to the greatest extremities by the Republican armies, and by famine. Its little army under Villeneuve, occupied the heights. The Marseillese were not, however, united among themselves; many of the sections publicly declared their wish to accept of the new constitution, which had been so suddenly formed by the Jacobins; and the contention was so vehement, that the blood which was spilled presented a prelude to the horrors that were expected to ensue. The hopes of the Jacobins were increased by Villeneuve being driven from the heights and which were attacked and carried by General Cartaux. Villeneuve took refuge, with 500 of his troops, the municipal officers, and a number of citizens, in the city of Toulon. Marseilles surrendered; and the infuriated Republicans eagerly wreaked their vengeance on those unhappy inhabitants who were too moderate in their sentiments to be either violent Royalists or Jacobins.

Lyons was now left to depend upon the strength of its own citizens alone; they had endeavoured to escape the rage of the storm, by accepting the new constitution. They sent deputies to notify the event to the Convention, but they were received with marked displeasure, and only saved themselves from imprisonment by flight. A message was sent them that "they must deliver up their new magistrates if they expected mercy, for that the blood of the patriots shed by them demanded vengeance." These overtures were rejected, and the inhabitants prepared for an obstinate defence. They were destisute, however, of cannon, Kellerman having obtained all their ordnance under pretence of supplying the wants of the army of Italy. The townsmen were numerous but undisciplined; they were mostly the fathers of families, who trembled for

the safety of their wives, children, and property; and although an immense number were in arms, not more than 10,000 could be relied on. The Jacobins also remained within the walls resolute and determined, and the populace was uniformly at their command.

The Lyonese however determined to rely on their own intrepidity. Precy, formerly a colonel in the constitutional guards of the King, was elected General by acclamation. The fortifications were repaired, and artillery cast; and such was the general enthusiasm, that, while the youthy were in arms, the women and old men worked at the redoubts, and encouraged the warriors by their presence and their perseverance.

The army destined for the attack consisted of nearly 10,000 troops of the line, 3,000 cavalry, a number of battalions of national guards levied in the neighouring departments, a corps of 500 artillerymen, and 20 batteting guns, beside mortars. The usual forms of a siege were recurred to; and, in addition to the arms of the besiegers, their success was promoted by the poorer inhabitants, who not only conveyed intelligence into the camp of the Republicans, but even directed their negociations by means of signals.

The general, at length, poured in a tremendous shower of bombs, and red-hot balls, and this unfortunate city was set on fire in forty-two places in a single night. It was threatened also by the horrors of famine; and two columns of armed citizens sallied forth to collect corn, one of which was cut off, except five who escaped into the town, and their leader, Servand, was shot. The resistance continued obstinate. Dubois Crance, the deputy, was recalled to give an account of his conduct. The besiegers obtained some advantages, but the horrors of famine being added to the miseries of war, the citizens, after a siege of fifty-five days, in which they displayed the most heroic courage, yielded to an enemy against whom valour was useless and unavailing.

Collet D'Herbois, Couthon, &c. were appointed the new deputies, and they refused to grant any terms until the leaders of the insurrection were delivered up. The chiefs, therefore, both civil and military, several of the principal inhabitants, and all those proscribed by the Jacobins, to the amount of about 2,000, sallied forth from the city, to seek an asylum in a foreign land. A few waggons, containing the remnant of their scanty fortunes, and some four-pounders, followed the fugitives; in the midst of whom were a great number of females, determined to follow their husbands, and, with their children in their arms, to share their fate. Suddenly, however, on entering the defiles of St. Cyr and St. Germain, they found themselves surrounded by near 50,000 men: they performed prodigies of valour, only 500 men and women escaped with their lives; they were chiefly covered with wounds, and were transferred from dungeon to dungeon until their days were ended by disease and punishment. About 60 however succeeded in obtaining an asylum with the neighbouring peasantry.

The fate of the inhabitants who trusted to the mercy of their fellow countrymen was not more tolerable. A fourth part of the city had been destroyed by the besiegers. The ferocious Commissioners ordered the destruction of the principal edifices. The Convention decreed that the city should be destroyed; that whatever was inhabited by a rich man should be demolished; that this ancient city should no longer be recognized by its former name, and that a column should be raised upon its ruins, to attest to posterity its crimes and its punishments.

The sufferings of the miserable inhabitants have never been surpassed. Measures were actually taken to transport a great number to another place; and the Deputy Freron, on entering the town, ordered several guillotines to be erected, and anounced, that "terror was the order of the day." Even he was surpassed in cruelty by Collot D'Herbois: this barbarous ruffian's pro-consulship in the South was one contiued series of bloodshed and ferocity.

A band of Parisian Jacobins, and a column of the Revolutionary army marched in before him. The process of the "national axe," was too slow for his impatient vengence; and the bayonets of the infantry, and sometimes the sabres of the cavalry, were required to abate his insatiable thirst of carnage. At length, even these did not effect his horrid purposes with sufficient celerity, and grape-shot and artillery, and the fusilades of the troops daily strewed the great square of the city with the dying and the dead, and flooded the town with the blood of the unhappy Lyonese.

THE END OF CHAP. XX.

CHAPTER XXI.

Alteration of the French Calendar....Gobet, and other Bishops, solemnly renounce Christianity, and give up their Emoluments ...The Allies successful at Strasburgh, &c....The Prussians, &c. defeated at Deux Ponts....The French Successes at Spires, &c. under Pichegru, Hoche, &c....New Projects of Co-operation by the Allies....Plans of the British for assisting the Royalists in Brittany....Extravagant Subsidies to induce the King of Prussia to remain Confederate.... Westerman's Address to the Convention....The Celebration of the 21st of January....The immense Force of the French, and the comparatively weak State of the Allies....The Duke of York commands the British Force ...The Emperor commands the Allied Army ...The Duke of York forces the French to retreat....The Allies besiege Landrecy....General Otto defeats the French....Pichegru defeats the Allies at Moucron, and takes Courtray, and Menin.

THE scenes we have mentioned were truly tragical and terrible, but so trivial did they appear in the eyes of the Convention, that they were, almost at the same instant amusing themselves with an alteration of the Calender, dividing the year into twelve months of thirty days each, and conferring on the five intercalary days the odd epithet of *sans-culottides*, afterwards complementary days. Each month was divided into three decades, or periods of ten days, and the tenth, not the seventh, was appointed to be a day of rest. They made the Republican year to commence on the 23d of September; the anniversary of the Convention entering upon its functions, began the Republican era from that day, dating all their public acts subsequent to that period.

Year of the French Republic.

The Autumnal months were called,

23 September, *Vendemaire.*
23 October, *Brumaire.*
22 November, *Frimaire.*

The Winter months were called,

22 December, *Nivos.*
21 January, *Pluvios.*
20 February, *Ventos.*

The Spring months were called,

22 March, *Germinal.*
21 April, *Floreal.*
21 May, *Prarial.*

The Summer months were called,

20 June, *Messidor.*
20 July, *Thermidor.*
19 August, *Fructidor.*

The days of each decade were called in its order *primedi doudi* up to *decadi*, and the complimentary days were to be kept as national *fêtes*.

It was enacted, about the same time, that every priest found in arms against the interest of the Republic should be punished as a traitor; and that all men of this profession, under sixty years of age, should be banished to French Guiana, if they had not previously taken the oaths prescribed by the constitution.

Dreadfully have mankind exclaimed against the impiety and infidelity of the French, and they gave too much reason for the charge. On the 7th of November the Republican bishop of Paris, M. Gobet, his vicars, and different other members of the ecclesiastical body, entered the hall of the Convention, were they made a solemn surrender of their officers, and of the Christian religion, at the same time. Only one, of the name of Gregoire (bishop of Blois,) had the magnanimity to confess himself a Christian, while he declared that he was ready to sacrifice the emoluments of his office to the good of the Republic. The attempts to annihilate religion, and establish pagan absurdity in its place, did not, we must allow, meet with the approbation of the people at large. To the honour of Frenchmen be it spoken, this measure was highly unpopular. Hebert and Fabre d'Eglantine were

supposed to be the grand promoters of this blasphemous step, by which they accelerated their own destruction, and Robespierre made himself remarkably popular by his defence of religion. By a decree of the commune, the churches were ordered to be shut up, but so highly irritated were the people of Paris at such a procedure, that they were obliged to reverse it on the 1st of December, when Barrere proclaimed the freedom of religious worship. It appears from this, that the charge of infidelity is wholly unfounded, when brought against the people of France in general; and if some leading men among them were tinctured with atheism, the same may be said of every country upon earth. Because there are numbers of infidels in this country, it would be unjust for that reason to pronounce the kingdom of Great Britain a nation of atheists. The shocking decree of the 7th of November was, in some degree, compensated by an act of the 15th, which abolished for ever the immoral and disgraceful practice of lotteries.

The termination of the campaign was far from being in favour of the Allies, for though the British had taken possession of Fort Jeremié, Cape Nicola Mole, and Pondicherry, together with all the other settlements belonging to the French on the coast of Coromandel; yet the Republicans in Europe were more successful, and as they were masters of the formidable lines at Weissemburg and on the Lauter, little hopes of success could be entertained by the Austrians of taking Landau. General Wurmser, therefore, determined to level all his strength against these, and, on the 13th, was allowed to penetrate them. The town of Weissemburg made a more determined opposition to the enemy than Lauterburgh had done, and it was not reduced to the necessity of capitulating till the latter end of October, which cost the Austrians about 800 men. This victory induced the enemy to push forward to Strasburgh, where the Republicans were again vanquished on the 25th, when the Austrian general made

himself master of Wanzenau. - On the 27th he was vigorously engaged by the French, but in this action they suffered most severely, as their loss has been estimated at 3,000 men; and this success encouraged Wurmser to invest Landau. Pichegru, who had been a serjeant of artillery, conceived an admirable plan for reconquering Alsace; and he was ably seconded by Hoche, who like himself, had wielded a halbert before he was fortunate enough to grasp a truncheon.

On the 14th of November Fort Louis was taken possession of by Marshal Wurmser, whose career against France was now about to terminate; for, on the 21st, he was defeated by the Republicans, who obliged him to retreat; and they continued their victorious march almost to the gates of Hagenau. During these transactions, the army of the Moselle proceeded to form a junction with the army of the Rhine; and, by their joint co-operation, the Prussians were defeated in the neighbourhood of Saarbruck, when their loss was considerable, but to what extent is not specified. The camp of the enemy at Bliescastle, was carried by the French on the subsequent day; and, without given them any time to recover from their consternation, they proceeded towards Deux Ponts, under the command of the celebrated General Hoche. By the skill and gallantry of this officer, the heights of Milleback and Hornback were speedily subdued; and, of consequence, the Prussians found that Deux Ponts was no longer tenable.

On the 29th and 30th, the Republicans suffered severely, by making a desperate attack on the posts of the Duke of Brunswick in the vicinity of Lautern; but they soon experienced an ample compensation from the victories of Pichegru, who, on the 8th of December, obtained all the redoubts of the enemy which defended Hagenau, at the point of the bayonet. The 22d was equally glorious for the French, who made prodigious havock of the allies, in dislodging them from Bischoilers. Two days after, the

Republicans pursued the fugitives as far as the heights of Wrotte, where the enemy were reported to be as strongly fortified as at Gemappe, yet nothing could now resist the impetuosity of the French. Pichegru began to attack them with his artillery in the usual form; but finding that the cannonading proved ineffectual, and that the ardour of his troops panted for something more decisive, he marched up to the very foot of the intrenchments which he completely carried, after a desperate resistance of three hours, and obtained possession of all the posts which the Allies had abandoned, and made a triumphant entrance into Weissembourg on the 27th of the same month. General Wurmser effected his retreat to the Rhine, and the Duke of Brunswick fell back precipitately in order to protect Mentz.

The retreat of the Allies caused the siege of Landau to be raised, after it had been reduced to the utmost distress; and, by virtue of a career of victories, the French easily got possession of Kaiserslautern, Germersheim and Spires. Such was the enthusiasm inspired among the Republicans by the vigorous measures pursued by the two generals, who now sustained the glory of their country, that the name of a French army conveyed terror into the hearts of their enemies.

The command of the Northern army was taken from Jourdan, and conferred on Pichegru; but as Jourdan was declared by a decree of the legislative body, in consequence of his atchievements at Hondschoote and Maubauge, to have retired with honour to himself, and with the gratitude of his country, there was nothing to exclude him from subsequent authority, and accordingly he was soon after appointed to the chief command of the army of the Sambre and the Mense. In the vicinity of Marolles the French were in a state of formidable preparation, and the thunder of their artillery prodigiously galled the outposts of the Allied Powers; but the enemy having crossed the Sambre

in great force, made a vigorous attack on their redoubts, put great numbers of the Republicans to the sword, and made 500 prisoners. The French were equally unsuccessful in different skirmishes, before the commencement of what might properly be denominated the campaign, and for which both parties had been making the most extensive preparations.

The diplomatic corps was actively employed, to effect a vigorous co-operation among the Combined Powers, and the Courts of London and Vienna united to make the most ardent struggle in the common cause, for which purpose *Colonel Mack*, an officer in the confidence of the Emperor, was sent to London to arrange the plan of the campaign with the British ministry. Whilst, however, the other powers were making the most generous sacrifices, the King of Prussia, who had been among the first to tempt them into the contest, was mean enough to tamper with the agents of the Republic for a separate peace; and, by threatening to withdraw from the Confederacy, extorted a subsidy of 52,000*l.* per month from the Dutch and English Governments, besides a present payment of 300,000*l.*

The plan which the French had projected to secure the success of the campaign, was, to force their way with a powerful column, through the territory of Namur and the district of Liege, to attack the cantonments of the Austrians with a formidable force near Tournay, and lay siege to Condé, Quesnoy, and Valenciennes; but this plan was disclosed by an officer, who deserted to the Austrians. These circumstances delayed the opening of the campaign to an advanced period of the year.

The British Government agreed to contribute to the aid of the Royalists in Brittany, and places adjacent. The troops destined for this expedition were to be commanded by the Earl of Moira. Whilst, however, they were encamped in the neighbourhood of Southampton, the critical situation of the British army in the Netherlands, induced

his Lordship to comply with a very pressing solicitation from the ministry, to land a considerable re-inforcement in the Low Countries; in which he so far succeeded, that he was able to defeat, both at Aleste and Malines, a considerable French force, which would otherwise greatly have annoyed the Duke of York's army. It may be remarked, that the people to whom these succours were intended were allowed to be completely subdued by the victorious Republicans before the Earl was in a situation to reach them. So fully were the French acquainted with it by reason of delay, that they were prepared to give him a warm reception as soon as he appeared off the coast, on which account he deemed it neither safe nor prudent to attempt a landing. It might now have appeared manifest to people of moderate understandings, that it was the height of absurdity and extravagance, to endeavour to subjugate France.

The insurgents of Noirmoutier, in the isle of that name, had remarkably strengthened their fortifications; but they seem by this period to have considered their cause as desperate, for they made a voluntary surrender of the town before the Republican army arrived within reach of their batteries. In reducing this island to submission, the Royalists are said to have lost 500 men killed, and 1,200 prisoners, besides 50 pieces of cannon, 8,000 stand of arms, and 30,000 pounds of gunpowder. It was natural to expect that the sanguinary disposition of the Republicans would treat these unhappy men with uncommon severity, having been so long accustomed to the shedding of human blood. Five hundred of them were shot at Nantz, because the guillotine was not deemed a method of destruction sufficiently expeditious. Multitudes of them were dispatched by grape-shot from the mouths of cannon, or sunk in barges, according to the humour of their conquerors, and it is said that more than 4,000 suffered in a single pit.

The temper of the French Government may be in some

measure collected from the proceedings in the Convention about this time. General Westermann appeared at the bar on the 7th of January, and addressed the legislature in substance as follows: "Citizens, representatives! a wound, which prevents my sitting on horseback, is the motive of my journey to Paris; I present to you some of the sacerdotal spoils of the Bishop of Agra, so famous for the part he acted in the Catholic and Royal army. I come to assure you, on my head, that of that army, which was so strong, *not a single combatant* remains; chiefs, officers, bishops, countesses, and marchionesses, all perished—by the sword—by the flames—or by the waves! This dreadful example is unprecedented in the annals of history; and Europe will see, with astonishment, that the Republic, like the everlasting Father, dictates its laws from the summit of the sacred Mountain, and will be able to maintain itself, and to reduce every country which shall be foolish enough to attempt restoring Royalty in France." General Westermann had been ordered under arrest, previous to his arrival, and was assigned to the regions occupied by the victims marked out to satisfy the daily cravings of the guillotine; but this patriotic oration persuaded the Convention that he possessed ruffianism enough to be left at liberty, and therefore he was ordered to be provisionally discharged.

On the 21st of January, being the anniversary of the King's death, both the legislators and the people amused themselves by swearing hatred to tyrants; under which denomination they comprised the members of all governments more ancient than their own. Barrere, the organ of the Committee of Public Safety to the Convention, took frequent opportunities of promulging the national sentiments, in the character of his own reports: "In common wars," said he, upon an occasion, when he was recounting the triumphs of the troops, "successes so numerous having led to peace; the wars of kings were only sanguinary tournaments; the expenses were defrayed

by the people, while tyrants insolently assumed all the pomp to themselves; but, in a war for freedom, *there is but one means*—that of exterminating all despots. The Coalition has harnessed twenty-one nations to the corps of despotism; the inhabitants of which are still slumbering. The people of England, Scotland, Ireland, Holland, Hanover, Brunswick, Hesse, Prussia, Austria, Russia, Spain, Naples, Sardinia, Rome, &c. &c. to enumerate them is but to give a list of the vanquished. Some voices, however, are already heard declaiming on the advantages of peace! What man of understanding, what sincere patriot will dare to mention peace without dreading to compromise freedom? Brunswick, Coburg, and Pitt *desire peace*; but our land forces have made us glorious, and our naval forces must increase our glory, *before we can think of peace*. The committee prepare a terrible war, as the only way of obtaining solid peace. Arms and gunpowder, these are our negociators. Let it be decreed" continued the reporter, " that every captain, or other officer of the navy, who shall strike and surrender a ship of the line to the enemy, without having fought a force at least double her own, shall be declared guilty of treason against the country!" And the Convention decreed, at the same time, that the seamen who should capture an enemy's ship, of one-third greater force than their own, should get promotion, and be otherwise rewarded.

At this period, the Convention had the enormous number of 780,000 men ready to take the field against the enemy, exclusive of those of the second requisition. Against this immense multitude the Allies could only bring 356,000, independent of the aid they might receive from Spain, Portugal, Sardinia, and Naples. Prince Cobourg had 140,000 men under his command; the Duke of York 40,000; the Dutch army 20,000; Austrians on the Rhine 60,000; Prussians 64,000; troops of the empire, 20,000; and the Emigrants, under Condé, 12,000 men.

When the difficulties which had delayed the operations of the Allied Powers were adjusted to the satisfaction of all parties, his Royal Highness the Duke of York took the command of the British forces. He accompanied the Austrian General Clairfait, on the 17th, to Valenciennes, to hold a council of war, in conjunction with Prince Saxe Cobourg; and, after deliberating on the most proper measures to be adopted and pursued, each commanding officer returned to his respective head-quarters. The Republican troops, towards the close of the month, made their appearance in West Flanders, and gave battle to the out-posts at Cateau, Beauvais, and Solesmes; but the timely assistance of the Austrian cavalry, which appeared at that instant, compelled the enemy to retreat, not, however, without the loss of about 500 men, while that of the Austrians was no more than 120. A part of the Republican army, in the meantime, having surprised the Hessians stationed at Tenbreuil, between Werwick and Ypres, had the good fortune to get in the rear of the Hanoverian piquets, by which manœuvre they cut off their retreat. But, on the approach of a considerable force from Menin, the French deemed it proper to retire with precipitation, after the accomplishment of the object they had at this time in view, and crossed the Lys, with three officers and 143 men, prisoners.

It has been said, and we belive with truth, that indolence or inactivity produces effects equally pernicious with those arising from the most desperate engagements. Although much time was spent before the accomplishments of any thing decisive on either side by active operation, the all-conquering hand of disease was leveling its thousands in the dust. We have no particular accounts of the loss sustained by the French from this cause, but that of the Austrians, in Brabant alone, has been estimated at 23,000 men. How superior to the mischievous effects of the sword, or the thunder of cannons was this devastation!

In consequence of disputes that had arisen among the Princes in the Combined Army, as to the rank they should hold, it was agreed that the Emperor in person should be commander in chief; and on his arrival at Brussels, in the beginning of April, he was complimented by the States with the title of Duke of Brabant. His inauguration was accompanied with the most solemn marks of flattery and adulation. The keys of the gates of Louvain were presented to his Imperial Majesty, and they bore this inscription: "*Cæsar adest, frement Galli;*" —"Cæsar is present, the Gauls shall tremble!" On his arrival at Valenciennes, the Combined Army appeared to receive him with demonstrations of joy, and was reviewed by him on the 16th of April, stationed on the heights above Cateau, which marched, in eight columns, on the subsequent day, towards the small but strongly fortified town of Landrecy. Prince Christian, of Hesse Darmstadt, had the command of the first column, which consisted of Austrians and Dutch, whose destination was Catillon, which, after some opposition, they compelled to surrender. General Alvintzy, to whom was committed the command of the second column, obliged the enemy to abandon their entrenchments at Mazinguer, Oisy, and Nouvion, making himself master of the forest of the last-mentioned name. The third column, under the command of the Emperor in person and the Prince of Cobourg, had also its share of success, in the reduction of the two villages Ribouville and Wassigny, the advanced guard of which got possession of Grand and Petit Blocus. The fourth and fifth columns were commanded by the Duke of York, the one by himself in person and the other by Sir William Erskine. The object pointed out for their conquest were the villige of Vaus, with the redoubts by which it was defended, and the Republican entrenchments in the wood of Bohain.

His Royal Highness was fully persuaded that the enemy occupied a very formidable position; on which

account he determined, if it could be accomplished, to turn their right wing, and therefore commanded the whole column to march forward, under cover of the high ground, while a sufficient number of cavalry was reserved to deceive the French and divert their attention from the object he had in view. When the engagement commenced, the fire of the Republicans was uncommonly brisk; but on perceiving that it would be impossible for them to retain their position, they soon after retreated, when a part of them were cut off in the wood, and the remainder retired towards the main army by the village of Bohain. The forces commanded by Sir William Erskine were no less victorious. The three remaining columns, which were under the command of the Prince of Orange, did not come to any action with the enemy as they were only intended to watch the motions of the French on the side of Cambray. These various successes on the part of the Allies, enabled them to lay siege to Landrecy in due from, which was committed to the charge of the Prince of Orange.

The Prince of Cobourg had two detachments of his troops stationed at Blocus and Nouvion, formerly mentioned, which the Republicans attacked on the 21st, but by the timely assistance of the Duke of York, with five battalions of Austrians, together with the brigade of British cavalry under the command of Sir Robert Lawrie, they were driven from Blocus, while victory declared in their favour at Nouvion, having obliged General Alvintzy to retreat. The French, in the mean time, were engaged in collecting troops from the camp of Cæsar, in the neighbourhood of Cambray, where the Duke of York sent General Otto, with some cavalry, to ascertain their strength, and give them battle, if he should deem it adviseable; but, on finding that their force was greatly superior to his own, he declined coming to an engagement till the morning of the 24th, when he received reinforcements; in consequence of which he was, at length,

victorious; obliging the enemy to quit the field in the utmost confusion, with the loss of 1,200 men and three pieces of cannon. The loss of the Allies was little inferior to that of the enemy; for, on the succeeding day, the Duke of York was engaged by the French at all points, who were, however, obliged to yield to the British commander, after an obstinate resistance. The Combined Powers must have suffered severely in this as well as the preceding battle, but we find no accurate statement of it upon record. The French are said to have lost 35 peices of cannon, and 1,200 men who were left dead on the field, together with General Chapuy and 350 officers and private men taken prisoners.

From this last battle we may consider the French as having seriously begun the campaign; for the engagement was an attack so general as to reach along the whole of the frontiers from Treves to the sea, a distance of about 180 miles. The column under the immediate command of the Emperor was attacked by the Republicans, but without effect; although in one point their success appears to have been considerable. These skirmishes were only intended as stratagems to deceive the Combined Powers, and prevent them from comprehending the principal design of the Republicans. The Austrian General Clairfait, having effected a junction at Moucron with the Hanoverian troops, resolved to act upon the offensive, as soon as he should receive his expected reinforcement of six battallions of Austrian infantry. These designs did not escape the vigilance and activity of General Pichegru, by whom they were disconcerted; for, on the 29th, that able officer attacked the post at Moucron, which, after a vigorous resistance on the part of the Allies, was obliged to surrender. Courtray likewise yielded to the French commander, which produced the instantaneous evacuation of Menin;

that place, in consequence of the victories acquired by the enemy, having despaired of relief. The garrison, which consisted of four battalions of Hanoverians, and four companies of Emigrants, fought their way through the midst of the Republican troops, and retreated, with very little loss, to Ingelmunster.

THE END OF CHAP. XXI.

CHAPTER XXII.

Operations of the Armies....Landrecy surrenders to the Allies....Defeat of the Duke of York....Defeat of the Emperor....Defeat of the French by the Combined Powers.... Beaulieu takes and plunders Bouillon....Jourdan enters Luxembourg, and Beaulieu retreats....The Allies defeated, and retreat to Halle....Clairfait defeated....Retreats to Ghent....Walmoden abandons Bruges....The Emperor leaves the Army....The French defeat the Spaniards at Ceret, and are successful in Piedmont....The English take Martinico, St. Lucia, and Guadaloupe....The French annoy the English Trade....Lord Howe defeats the French Fleet under Admiral Villaret....Safe arrival of a rich American Convoy in the French Ports.

THESE repeated losses and discomfitures were hardly compensated by the successful siege of Landrecy, which surrendered to the Combined Powers in the space of ten days. With such incessant fury had the place been bombarded, that no more than two houses were found to have escaped the vengeance of the cannon at the termination of the siege. Two hundred of the inhabitants lost their lives, and 1,200 of the garrison; the remaining part of the soldiers being made prisoners of war to the amount of 4,400 men. The Republicans, however, were victorious towards Treves, with the army of the Moselle. By order of the Committee of Public Safety, it was commanded to take its route from Longwy towards Arlon, with a view to intercept all communication petween Luxembourg and Treves, with the countries of Liege and Namur, which order was executed with spirit and activity by General Jourdan. On the 17th of April he completely defeated General Beaulieu. The engagement lasted two days, almost without intermission, according to the account of the French General, during which time

the carnage on both sides was dreadful; but we have no certain authority for the number, either of killed, or wounded, or prisoners.

On the 10th of May, a severe engagement took place between the Duke of York and a Republican Army of 30,000 men, at Tournay. The right flank of the Combined Army was attempted to be turned by the French; but in this they were unsuccessful, for the regiment, which was commanded by Prince Kaunitz, and posted in a wood to cover the main body of the army, repulsed them with loss. Failing in this attempt, they endeavoured to force the center of the Duke's army, which they attacked with astonishing intrepidity, in the face of the numerous artillery by which it was defended. But the Republicans were obliged to retreat, with the computed loss of 3,000 men.

General Clairfait, having effected the passage of the Heule, obtained a conquest over the enemy, and compelled them to take refuge in Courtray; but he was soon obliged to retreat precipitately across the Heule, and afterwards to continue his retreat towards Thielt; where he found means to protect Ghent, Bruges, and Ostend.

Much about the period under consideration, the Northern Republican army passed the Sambre, and made themselves masters of Binche; which laid General Kaunitz under the necessity of retreating, and stationing himself between that place and Rouveroy, for the purpose of defending Mons against an attack from that quarter. From this place the French were determined to dislodge him; and, accordingly, they attacked him on the 14th of May, with their accustomed impetuosity; but fortune here smiled on their antagonists, who compelled them to repass the Sambre with the loss of about 5,000 men, and a few pieces of cannon. This victory elated the Emperor considerably, because he concluded that it had secured him the possession of that part of the country; for which reason he resolved to march to the assistance of his Royal

Highness the Duke of York, at Tournay. The forces of the Emperor, the Duke, and General Clairfait were to form a junction, and act in concert against the line of the Republicans, in which grand attack it was believed they would be able to drive the invaders from the whole of Flanders. It was, however, disconcerted by means of some illicit correspondence with the people of Lisle; and the French were masters of the secret before it was ripe for execution.

The Combined Army, in five columns, began its march on the 16th, in the evening, two of which were destined to force the passages of the Marque; and, having made a vigorous assault on the French posts along the river, were to protect the operations of the three columns which remained. But it was so late before they could accomplish their object, and the men were so exhausted, that they were obliged to relinquish the execution of the remaining part of their plan. The column to the right, under the command of General Basche, was equally unfortunate; for the Republicans at Mouveron, being far more numerous than he had apprehended, he did not deem it prudent to give them battle, but resumed his former position at Warcoing. The column under General Otto was rather more successful, as they were enabled to drive the enemy from Waterloo, and force their way towards Turcoing. The Duke of York also repulsed the Republicans, obliged them to evacuate Lannoy, and marched forward to Roubaix; but he did not deem it expedient to proceed forward, being unacquainted with the real situation of the columns on his right and left. The Duke having informed the Emperor of his designs, the British forces were ordered to march forward and attack Morveaux, as his Majesty was under the necessity of co-operating with General Clairfait. The Republicans were driven from their entrenchments at Morveaux by the intrepid General Abercromby; and the transactions of the 17th might be said to terminate with some hope

of success to the Combined Powers, yet this hope was of short continuance.

Turcoing was attacked by the French on the morning of the 18th, which was commanded by Colonel Devay, whither the Duke of York sent two battalions of Austrians, with a view to make a diversion on that quarter: and they were positively ordered to join the main army if severely pushed by the enemy; but, through some misunderstanding, they joined the Colonel at Turcoing, by which means a chasm was occasioned on the right of the Duke's forces, of which it was natural to expect that the Republican General would take immediate advantage. About the same time a body of 15,000 French were seen approaching from Lisle, and another, having obliged General Otto to abandon his position in the vicinity of Waterloo, were enable to attack the British forces in the rear. The troops under the immediate command of the Duke, unable to stand against the force of the enemy, soon gave way, and the Duke himself was compelled to fly, to join General Otto, with whom he continued, on account of the melancholy situation of his own army. It is difficult to say with whom the blame of this unfortunate affair should rest; the Allies are charged with a want of vigour and firmness, while the Austrians blame the Hanoverian troops, who, they say, "were the first to retreat. They created the greatest confusion; for their cavalry not only destroyed the foot, but threw the whole army into such disorder, that they became a helpless prey to the pursuing enemy."

The British troops were extricated from their perilous situation, with uncommon ability, by Generals Abercromby and Fox. According to one statement, the loss of the Allies on this occasion amounted to 3,000 men; a number which does not appear to be exaggerated, when we reflect that the loss of the British alone has been estimated at no fewer than 1000 men, and 43 peices of cannon. Two columns under the command of his Im-

perial Majesty and the Prince of Saxe Cobourg, were likewise defeated with some loss, while General Clairfait could not grant any assistance, as his army was still separated from the rest by the Lys. These calamitous events once more decided the fate of the Netherlands, and were the means of diffusing consternation and dismay throughout the whole country; nor were a few Imperial proclamations adequate to the task of supporting the drooping spirits of the Emperor's subjects. The scattered troops of the Allies being collected with as much expedition as circumstances would permit, they were again assailed by the Republicans on the 22nd, with a force of about 100,000 men, designed, if possible, to turn the right wing against the out posts; the French were at first successful; but a reinforcement having been sent under the command of General Fox, that able officer enabled the Allies to maintain their position. This dreadful contest continued from five in the morning till nine at night, when victory declared in favour of the Combined Powers; and the French, finding that their situation was no longer tenable, withdrew their troops in the night, and marched back towards Lisle. Their estimated loss is almost incredible, being stated at 12,000 men. Thus were the French defeated for the present in their design of forcing the Scheldt, and investing Tournay. General Pichegru was commander on this occasion, and his skill was eminently displayed in the arrangement of his army. The right and left wings, together with the rear, were protected by a wood, so that it was impossible for cavalry to do them the smallest injury in any shape whatever.

The Combined Powers, about this period, experienced some partial successes in another quarter; for General Beaulieu penetrated into the duchy of Bouillion, assaulted and took the town of that name, conquered a large body of the French stationed there, and delivered up the town to be plundered. The Republicans lost at this time about 1,200 men killed, 300 prisoners, and 6 pieces of

cannon. It is a singular circumstance, that we find few or no statements of the losses sustained by the Combined Powers; and, as we cannot suppose that they were invulnerable, their loss has been kept a secret for some particular purpose. There can be no doubt that it was on many occasions, as heavy as that of the Republicans; and in particular instances, it was probably more so.

The French having again effected the passage of the Sambre, were vigorously and successfully attacked by General Kaunitz on the 24th; and he, having come upon them by surprise, obliged them to retreat with precipitation, leaving behind them 50 pieces of cannon. Their loss in killed has been computed at 2,000, and 3,000 prisoners, while that of the Austrians has been denominated trifling. The Republicans were also defeated at Keyserslautern by Marshal Mollendorf, he having surprised their entrenchments, and put many of them to the sword.

These partial victories, however, were productive of no permanent advantages to the allied interest. At the very time when Beaulieu was doing little more than trifling in Bouillon, the victorious Jourdan invaded the duchy of Luxembourg at the head of an army of 40,000 men, and instantly got possession of Arlon, which obliged Beaulieu to relinquish his late conquest, and retreat with precipitation, for the defence of Namur.

As soon as Jourdan was enabled to stop all communication between Charleroi and Brussels, he prepared to lay siege to the former of these places; but the Prince of Orange attacked him on the 3d of June, and compelled him, with considerable loss, to raise the siege and re-cross the Sambre. The French soon retraced their steps with a force of 60,000 men, and demolished a strong redoubt which had been erected for the defence of Charleroi. This was a place of very considerable importance in the estimation of the Combined Powers, which induced the Prince of Saxe Cobourg to undertake the relief of it by every means in his power. At the request of the Prince

of Orange and General Beaulieu, he proceeded with the principal part of the Combined Army and effected a junction with the troops under the command of these officers on the 24th, at Nivelles, situated 17 miles North-north-west of Charleroi, and 22 North-east by East of Mons. The principal part of Jourdan's army was stationed at Templeuve, Gosselies, and Fleurus, with a view to cover the siege of Charleroi. All the Republican posts were attacked on the 26th in the morning, which were fought with fury and desperation, till the afternoon was considerably advanced. At length victory smiled on the vigorous exertions of the French, who obtained a signal advantage over the Allies, obliging them to retreat to Halle with prodigious loss. They continued their triumphant career towards Brussels, and forced Cobourg to retreat from Halle; and Charleroi in consequence surrendered, by capitulation, on the preceding night.

Defeat now followed upon the heels of the Allies with a degree of rapidity that filled the human mind with astonishment. Ypres was besieged by a Republican Army of 30,000 men, whose operations were defended by another of 24,000 strong. Considering this place as the key to West Flanders, the Allies resolved to spare no expense in protecting it from the enemy; but General Clairfait, in attempting to force the enemy to raise the siege, was three times defeated in the space of five days, after having fought at the head of an army which maintained its ground like a wall of iron; and, at last, was under the necessity of making a precipitate retreat, in the utmost confusion, to Ghent, about 44 miles distant; where he learned, that there was no longer a communication between that place and Oudenarde. Ypres, after a gallant and obstinate resistance, surrendered to the Republicans under General Moreau on the 17th of June, on terms, it is reported, which are not always held out by the victors to the vanquished. On the defeat of the Austrian

General Clairfait, the interest of the Combined Powers became every day more desperate. The situation of General Walmoden, with a handful of men, was no longer tenable, and he was obliged to abandon Bruges to the victorious Republicans, who were received by the magistrates, on the 24th of June, with the utmost cordiality, after signing submission to the armies and *sovereignty of the French Republic.*

The Emperor found it impossible to prevail on his subjects to rise in a mass for the defence of the Netherlands; and, from different parts of their conduct, it might have been shrewdly conjectured that they rather wished to be Republicans. The Emperor himself was suspected by this time as not very hearty in the cause, for he departed for his capital, under a conviction that the subjugation of France was impracticable.

The career of the Republican troops on the side of Spain was equally brilliant. It the vicinity of St. Jean de Luz, 10 miles South-west of Bayonne, a battle was fought, in which the French were victorious, having either dispersed or taken prisoners three regiments, and an Irish one from Ultona was totally destroyed. The Spaniards were obliged to abandon Boulon, and their camp at Ceret, in the month of April; and not long after, General Dagobert made a conquest of Urgel, a town situated near the East borders of Spain, in the province of Catalonia, about 85 miles North-north-west of Barcelona, the capital. He found the citadel in a condition to hold out for a considerable time, and the bridge leading to the town having been demolished, he was under the necessity of waiting for reinforcements, during which period he was shot by a cannon ball, and General Dugommier succeeded him in the command. One victory gained by the French about this period was generally the prelude of another. On the 1st of May they obtained a victory in the neighbourhood of Ceret, on the borders of Spain, the fruits of which were 2,000 prisoners, the prodigious num-

ber of 200 pieces of cannon, and the Spanish camps, magazines, and equipage. This was succeeded by a stroke still more terrible to the Spanish interest, their principal army being almost totally destroyed, and their baggage and artillery captured by the conquerors. At Collioure, a town about 15 miles South-east of Perpignan, 7,000 Spaniards laid down their arms before the Republicans.

St. Elmo was abandoned by the Spanish forces on the 23d of May, and port Vendies surrendered, by capitulation, to General Dugommier. Equally successful were the Republicans in Italy, and victory and glory attended all their movements. In Piedmont alone they took 60 pieces of cannon and 2,000 prisoners, besides immense magazines of provisions and stores, and a manufactory of cloth of great value. Neither the Alps nor the Pyrenees opposed sufficient obstacles to damp the ardour of the Republicans. General Dumas, who commanded the army of the Alps, pursued a superior enemy though the most dangerous defiles and tremendous precipices, and gained possession of the Sardinian artillery and magazines, after several violent and sanguinary conflicts.

The conquests of the British forces in the West Indies, were as rapid as those of the French on the Continent of Europe, owing to the skill, courage, and activity of the two brave commanders, Sir John Jervis and Sir Charles Grey; insomuch that time was not allowed to the enemy even to put themselves upon their guard; and, before it could rationally be apprehended that one island was reduced, they appeared in full force and military preparation before another. Immediately on the conquest of Martinico the troops were embarked for St. Lucia, which excellent island fell into the hands of the British on the 4th of April. The enemy lost a considerable quantity of stores and artillery; but we are happy in being able to add, that the subjugation of the island was effected without much carnage on either side.

At this place, the commander in chief left Sir Charles

Gordon, Colonel; and on the very day on which he achieved the reduction of St. Lucia, he embarked his troops and returned to Martinico. On the 6th and 7th, the land forces were removed from the ships of war to the transports; and on the 8th, a detachment of four sail was sent to the reduction of the small islands denominated the Saints, (situated on the South of Guadaloupe,) a commission which they accomplished with the utmost gallantry and dispatch. Two of the ships, the Boyne and Veteran, came to an anchor on the morning of the 10th off Point-a-Petre, in Guadaloupe; and although all his troops were not yet arrived, Sir Charles Grey determined to make a landing at Gosier Bay the very next morning, when his troops were covered from the enemy's fire by the guns of the Winchelsea, when Lord Garlies ran up so close to the batteries of the French, that they were obliged to abandon them with precipitation. Next day, (the 12th,) at five in the morning, Sir Charles, took by storm, a fort called Fleur d'Epée, at the point of the bayonet, by which means he got immediate possession of Grande Terre; and this was followed, on the 20th, by the conquest of Bassetrre, (situated on the South-west of the island,) which surrendered by capitulation. It is said that the number of men at Guadaloupe, qualified to bear arms, amounted to 5,877, of which the enemy are reported to have lost 232 in killed, wounded, and prisoners, at Fleur d'Epée, and the British about 80. From the conquest of these places the Commander in Chief returned again to Martinico, and entrusted the command of Guadaloupe to General Dundas.

In the Mediterrenean, the British were preparing to increase their possessions; the inhabitants of Corsica having mostly resolved to disunite themselves from France, and put themselves under the protection of the English government.

One of the most remarkable circumstances of this

period was, the very bad management of the British Navy, which enabled the French to annoy our coasting and merchant vessels so much, that, in the single month of May, they took 99 sail, whilst our captures were comparatively nothing; among others, they took eight West Indiamen, together with the Lisbon packet, having on board a vast quantity of money.

This successful method of ruining our trade was unaccountably abandoned by the French; and their anxiety for the fate of a convoy, expected every hour from America, with the rich produce of their West India islands, induced the Convention to order a fleet of 26 sail of the line (in May) to put to sea from the harbour of Brest, in order to protect it. The command was given to Admiral Villaret Joyeuse; and he had on board one of the representatives of the people, Jean Bon St. Andre, as a Commissioner, or spy upon the Admiral's conduct. As Lord Howe, the English Commander, received intelligence of this valuable convoy, he had put to sea, in the same month, with 26 sail of the line under his command. On the 28th, the British admiral came in sight of the French fleet; but it was yet at a considerable distance from him, on his weather-bow. After they came completely in sight of each other, and within the reach of their shot, the 29th and following days were chiefly taken up with a variety of manœuvres and skirmishes till the 1st of June, when his Lordship obliged the enemy to come to a close action, after having got, what, in the language of mariners, is called their *weather-gage*. This wonderful naval engagement lasted long, and was fought on both sides with the most determined bravery; but the British tars were decidedly superior to the Republican sailors, both in knowledge and discipline. In the manœuvring, previous to the commencement of the grand attack, several of the French ships had been considerably damaged, and, at best, so old and crazy, that they could,

in no sense, be deemed qualified to cope with the British commander.

Some ships in both fleets, had their masts completely carried away; and the vast multitudes who were slain, or otherwise perished, make humanity shudder. *Le Vengeur*, of 74 guns, was sent to the bottom, and all hands on board inevitably perished. The patriotic sentiments, and enthusiastic exertions of the crew will probably command the admiration of the latest posterity. After the guns upon the lower deck were completely under water, they continued to fire those of the upper tier; and, when launching into eternity, they made the air refound with the exclamation of "*Vive la Republique! vive la libertie, et la France!*" About an hour after the engagement become general and sanguinary, the Republican Admiral, who had been engaged with the Queen Charlotte, crowded off, and his example was followed by all the other ships that were in a condition to carry sail. It is certain that the British fleet were also very much disabled, since several of the French ships escaped after they had been captured; and two of them, in particular, found no difficulty in getting clear off with a single spritsail, or other small sail on a battered foremast. Six out of the twenty-six were brought into Plymouth by the British Admiral; so that the whole loss of the Republicans on this memorable day, amounted to seven sail of the line, including the unfortunate *Le Vengeur* which went to the bottom. The British had 272 men killed, and 787 wounded. The loss of the French must have been great, and has been computed by some at 1,900 in killed and wounded. This action was supposed to be the most sanguinary and best fought that had ever occurred on the ocean down to that time

It cannot be said that the French, upon the whole, were great losers by this engagement, for they gained the object for which it was undertaken. Only a few days

after this dreadful battle was fought, a rich American convoy arrived in safety, consisting of 160 sail, whose cargoes were moderately valued at five millions sterling, exclusive of a vast quantity of naval stores and provisions which they had also on board. Six old crazy ships of war certainly were not equal to such a prodigious accession of wealth, if we except the loss of so many lives. It must not be forgotten that several severe actions had been fought by English frigates, in all of which the officers and seamen maintained the honour of the British flag, and captured the foe.

THE END OF CHAP. XXII.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Wonderful political Energy of the French People.... The Jacobin Atheists conspired against by the Jacobin Christians....Arrest of Cloots, Paine, &c....Arrest and Execution of Danton, Westerman, &c....Execution of the Princess Elizabeth....Robespierre's Procession in Honour of the Supreme Being....Opposition of Tallien, Legendre, &c. to Robespierre....Billaud de Varennes denounces Robespierre to the Convention....Tallien's Rant....Robespierre, and his party, arrested and carried to the Hotel de Ville, where being attacked and overcome, they attempt Suicide.... Their Execution....Their Character, and the Character of the Convention.

THE political state of France during the spring of this year, discovered the powers of human energy in a much stronger light than the annals of mankind had ever displayed them in. The past was recalled, and the future anticipated, to supply the wants of the moment, and every effort of intellectual vigour was exerted to direct all the resources of the state against the dangers which opposed it. A military Committee was formed under the guidance of Carnot and others, who adopted their tactics to the spirit of the times, and availed themselves at the same time of the intelligence and experience of the great generals and statesmen who adorned the monarchy, and of the follies of the people who disgraced their own reign. It was a curious spectacle to see a raw army allured to the battle by the blandishments of the cyprian corps, who were distributing brandy through the ranks, while cannon were placed in the rear of the troops to prevent them shewing their backs to the enemy. No less extraordinary was it to behold a nation labouring to produce a harvest, not so much with the hope of reaping its fruits,

as to find leisure for marching to the frontiers to chastise an invading foe.

Such prodigies were effected by this extraordinary people, that they seemed unconscious of political weakness, and indulged in all the plenitude of self-will, as if they had adopted it as an infallible maxim, that *for a nation to be great it is sufficient that she wills it.* The cool and deliberate councils which other nations think it necessary to adopt in seasons of danger were considered perfectly unnecessary in France: the nation rioted in its own strength, and in the midst of perils would change its government with as much ease as any other nation would alter a road.

So many of the Brissotines had now been taken and conducted to the scaffold that they were nearly forgotten, and the victors had leisure to discover that there were yet differences of opinion amongst them sufficient to prevent that entire submission, which the bigotry of each required, for the dogma that he espoused. Among the Jacobins was a sect, whose revolutionary views were principally theological: these could not imagine any state of society worthy of being called free, unless it were composed entirely of Atheists, and they would have had no objection to have been governed by a king and emperor, or a despot of the most unrestrained kind, supposing he were an infidel; the Royalists were most of them Christians, and hence this sect contributed its aid to get as many of them as possible *guillotined off.* The leaders of this tribe were Hebert, Ronzin, Fabre d'Eglantine, and a considerable corps of *bon vivants,* whose numerous extravagances had tempted them to sell their votes, and in some instances to make too free with the public money; and Danton, Camille, Desmoulines, Cloots, and a considerable number, who were only partakers in the common crimes of the day: in the hands of *this body* the Christian Jacobins thought that power would be as dangerous to

them as if it were in the hands of the Royalists; and as the roasting and broiling zeal of the Catholics continued in its full vigour, notwithstanding the relaxation of ecclesiastical discipline, Robespierre, and his orthodox partisans, resolved to take advantage of the pious indignation which engaged a great majority of the people to call for divine vengeance on the heads of those profane persons, who, as we before related, had abjured the faith.

A great variety of new intrigues were now commenced, and numerous false reports and accusations fabricated, with a view to persuade the people that a fresh conspiracy existed, still more dangerous than any one preceding. All foreigners were expelled from the Convention, amongst whom were the Orator of the Human Race (Cloots), and the author of the Age of Reason (Paine); and the people were taught, that their confidence had so frequently been misplaced, and they had been so often deceived, that they had better adopt a new line of conduct, and rely implicitly upon the Committee of Public Safety. At length, the necessary quantum of alarm being excited, the Hebertists were suddenly arrested, about the middle of March, by order of the Committee of Public Safety, upon the charge of having "*preferred their private interest to the general good.*" Nothing could be more indefinite than this charge; but these were considerations far below the sublime philosophy of Frenchmen—there were heads to chop off, and it was the fashion of the day to believe, that the well-being of the Republic depended upon preventing any man from carrying one upon his shoulders a moment too long. The affair hardly excited a debate in the Convention, and the Robespierrians contented themselves with speculating upon the probable conduct of Danton and his friends upon the overthrow of so many of their party. These however, seemed wholly unconscious of their danger, for Danton entered the tribune, and called upon the people to assist the Convention to counteract every plot; and concluded by recommending confidence in the

Committee. His colleagues received sentence in the most precipitate and shameful manner, and 19 of them were arrested and guillotined in less time than an equitable court would have taken to examine their papers.

The friends of Danton little apprehended that, within ten days, they should themselves become the victims of of the same hasty judgment. On the 31st of March, Legendre informed the Convention, that four of their Members had been arrested; "the celebrated Danton," said he, "is one of them, I know not the names of the other three. If they be guilty, I will be the first to call for their punishment, but you ought to hear them. *I am pure*, and I believe Danton to be as pure as myself." This interference of Legendre offended Robespierre greatly, for he had only been excepted from this proscription, because he was considered too contemptible to be feared. "What," said Robespierre, "does Legendre pretend to be ignorant of the other three names? Knows he not that his friend Lacroix is of the number? he affects ignorance, because he knows that he could not pronounce that name without blushing. The name of Danton, he thinks, is less offensive; it is natural that the cause of the guilty should be pleaded by their accomplices; but why should these Deputies receive any favour, that has not shewn in former cases? the proposal is an insult to liberty. I move the previous question on Legendre's motion."

The previous question was carried, and the decree of arrest confirmed against Danton, Lacroix, Philippeau, Camille Desmoulins, and Herault Sechelles: in consequence they were, on the 2d of April, together with ten more, brought before this mock revolutionary tribunal, or rather slaughter-house. Not one of the supposed criminals appeared to be in the smallest degree agitated, Herault Sechelles, and Camille Desmoulins, entertained and diverted the spectators during their trial, by turning the act of accusation into the most pointed ridicule. The wit and invective of Danton were so keen as completely

to disconcert the judges; and he continued to amuse himself with throwing small balls, of the consistence and size of a pea, in their faces. All the prisoners demanded that Robespierre might be summoned to attend this mock tribunal, when they pledged themselves to confront him face to face; but he found means to excuse himself, under the pretext that he would there be in danger of assassination. As they refused to answer any interrogatories but on the above condition, the jury made a short process of it, and immediately found them guilty, Lullier alone excepted. They received sentence of death at two in the afternoon, and three hours after they were brought to the guillotine. Lacroix was the only person whose courage failed him at the trying moment, or who discovered any symptoms of trepidation and fear. Danton was the last who suffered; and he did it with so much magnanimity, turning up his eyes to the dreadful axe when he was tied to the plank, that the spectators were deeply penetrated with veneration and respect.

Danton has been described as a man of abilities and commanding eloquence, originally trained to the profession of the law. He was chiefly instrumental in rendering successful the designs of the Republicans on the memorable 10th of August, 1792. His person was tall, inclining to corpulency, but, upon the whole, his figure was engaging, and few could look upon him without a prepossession in his favour. He and his associates were accused of being concerned in the defection of Dumourier, as favouring the designs of the unfortunate Duke of Orleans, and being accomplices with Fabre d'Eglantine. They were also accused of counter-revolutionary principles, a design to murder the representatives of the people, to destroy the Republican government, and re-establish Monarchy, not one of which charges were ever proved.

When Danton had time to reflect, in the prison of Conciergerie, on the vanity of all sublunary enjoyments, and the peculiar sweets of a retired situation, he thus ex-

claimed, "In revolutions the power always remains in the hands of villains. It is better to be a poor fisherman than to govern men. Those fools, they will cry, *Long live the Republic*, on seeing me pass to the scaffold. This day last year I caused the Revolutionary Tribunal to be instituted: I ask pardon of God and of men; for it was not that it should become the scourge of humanity; it was to prevent the renewal of the massacres of September." Danton is supposed to have been the principal planner of the attack upon the King's palace on the 10th of August, which dreadful outrage was executed by the ruffian Westerman, and they both perished in one day, upon the same scaffold.

On the 6th of April, it was enacted by the Convention, "That every Deputy should be obliged, upon pain of death, to give an account of his revenue before and since the Revolution." The design of this decree is manifest. Every man who has the charge of the national purse should be an honest man, but be that as it may, it was the most fatal of M. Robespierre's enterprises, for his colleagues now discovered him to be a most *unreasonable tyrant*, who was endeavouring to overthrow the national representation. Secret parties were now formed by Legendre, Tallien, Lecointre, Bourdon, &c. who knew that their crimes must be exposed and punished, if they suffered any one man to live who was so pure and honest as Robespierre.

About this period it was demanded, by Fouquier Tinville, the public accuser, that the sister of the ci-devant King should be given up to that sink of barbarity and despotism, the Revolutionary Tribunal. The Princess Elizabeth was accordingly sent to the prison of the Conciergerie on the 10th of May, and appeared two days after before her unrelenting judges. The trial was of the same summary kind which had ever distinguished this bloody court, being composed of a few absurd interroga-

tions put to the prisoner, and she had neither advocates nor witnesses of any description whatever, but was condemned to the guillotine without more ceremony.

Having now disposed of all the rivals which he imagined any way dangerous, and not suspecting the formidable conspiracy that was hatching against him, Robespierre indulged his vanity by taking the lead at a procession in honour of the Supreme Being. At this ceremony his Jacobin partisans saluted him with the cry of, *Long live Robespierre!* and the awkward exultation which he discovered, in return for this flattery, afforded the malevolent an opportunity to point him out as an ambitious conspirator, who intended to usurp the sovereign power. Attempts were shortly afterwards made to assassinate some of his party, and he had the folly to exalt himself into a servant of the Most High, by mounting the tribune to thank God that he and his party had been such faithful servants to their country as to be accounted worthy of the daggers of tyrants. He said it was a spectacle worthy of heaven and earth, to behold the representatives of the French people stationed on the almost inexhaustible volcano of conspiracies, placing with the one hand, at the feet of the GREAT ETERNAL, the homage of a mighty people, and with the other launching the thunderbolt against the tyrants combined against them.

The policy of the knaves, of which the great majority of the Convention consisted, had for some time been, to remain silent in their seats, and take no part in the business of the nation, for they had seen through the whole progress of the Revolution, that opportunities were always to be found for exciting murmurs against the *actual* government, while those only who *did nothing* received credit for purity of design. By this sullen neglect on the part of the majority, the active minds of Robespierre and his friends were left to govern the state according to the

best of their judgments.—The wisdom as well as folly—the right as well as the wrong, was all their own; for the Talliens, the Legendres, and the Bourdons, were a systematic opposition, which resolved to afford them no assistance, and to watch only for their faults. The task was most arduous, and the labour incessant, that fell to the share of the Robespierrians, and there is more allowance to be made for the crimes committed by them subsequently to the death of Danton than at any period of the Revolution; for they had so much to do, with a few hands, that they could not afford the time necessary for deliberation.

Several attempts were made in the Convention to affix the public attention to such measures as were likely to be obnoxious, but the majority were too great cowards to effect their design in a bold and open manner; for, though they held all the legitimate authority of France in their own hands, and could send Robespierre to the guillotine as easily as they had sent Danton and hundreds of others; they were afraid of the Jacobin Club, which was entirely devoted to Robespierre, as also of the Committee of Public Safety, for the same reason. The policy adopted, therefore, was to excite jealousy between the Committee and the Club, by representing the latter as an improper restraint upon the Government. The bait succeeded, the Committee was flattered with the hope of seeing its rival annihilated in its favour, and Robespierre began to fear that he must consent to sacrifice one of his props, or he could not be able to secure either. His inclination was most in favour of supporting the Club, for by their means he could have overthrown the Committee, and have formed another, devoted entirely to his interests.

To the Club Robespierre made long speeches, in which he declared his reliance upon their zeal and good opinion, and his partisans endeavoured to get a resolution passed in support of his patriotism. Those discussions produced false accusations, and it was not long before it

was reported that he was endeavouring to arm his partisans against the Convention. Billaud Varennes declared, he had heard it resolved in the Jacobin Club to murder a number of the representatives, and a violent declamation against tyrants and tyranny was concluded with a charge against Robespierre, that he always had the words probity and virtue in his mouth, but trampled those qualities under foot by his practice. "A secretary of the Committee of Public Safety had robbed the public of 114,000 livres," continued Billaud Varennes, "when I demanded his arrest, Robespierre screened him. I could recount to you, citizens, a thousand other similar facts of this man; and yet it is he who dares to accuse us; we who spend our nights and days in the Committee of Public Safety, in organising our victories. We must not hesitate either to fall on him with our bodies, or to suffer tyrants to triumph."

These strong charges made so deep an impression on the mind of Robespierre, that he sprung towards the tribune to attempt a vindication of himself, but he was no longer to be listened to. His reception was now most humiliating; for a multitude of voices distinctly exclaimed, *Down with the tyrant, down with the tyrant!* Upon this Tallien arose, and addressed himself to the Convention in these words: "We must now draw the veil. I see with pleasure that the conspirators are unmasked, and that they will soon be annihilated. Every thing speaks that the enemy of the national representation is about to fall. In the house of that guilty man, who now stands humbled with the consciousness of detected guilt, and overwhelmed with that disapprobation which his infamous designs against liberty have so justly merited, were found those lists of proscription which have stained with so much blood the altars of rising liberty. Happily his designs have been discovered before he had time to execute them, or to add to that stream of blood which has already deluged France. His long success in villany

made him at last lay aside his usual caution. Was it to subject ourselves to so degrading and so abject a tyranny that we brought to the scaffold the last of the Capets, and lavished so much blood of the French citizens? Was it to acknowledge so petty a despot that we declared eternal war against Kings, and swore to establish liberty at the price of life? No: the spirit of freedom is not sunk so low; the sense of that duty which virtuous men owe to their country is not yet extinguished. I invoke the shade of the virtuous Brutus—like him I have a poniard to rid my country of the tyrant, if the Convention do not deliver him to the sword of justice."

After this speaker had finished his rant, he moved that the sittings of the Convention should be declared permanent till the Revolution was completed, that Robespierre and his creatures should be immediately arrested; and, deeming it of the utmost consequence to prevent the military from doing any essential service to the cause of the fallen idol, it was agreed that Henriot, the Commander, and his whole staff, should be arrested.

In defiance of all these dreadful accusations, and consequent decrees, Robespierre still made another effort to defend himself; but so violent were the members of the Convention now become that he was not permitted to be heard. In this situation Couthon and Le Bas employed all their efforts to protect him; but in vain; and therefore, with a degree of unshaken fidelity, which would have done great credit to a better cause, they voluntarily requested to be included with him in the decree of arrest. When this decree passed the Convention, one of the ushers was immediately ordered to take Maximilian Robespierre into safe custody. The usher hesitated to obey, but, on Robespierre's giving a signal of obedience, he followed him out of the hall. The prisoners were conveyed to the Luxembourg by a few officers of the peace; but as the administrator of police was one of their

partisans, he refused to admit them, for which reason they were conducted to the Hotel de Ville.

After the arrest of Henriot, he found means to escape; but he did not find his troops hearty in the cause, his cannoneers only excepted. He arranged them in three divisions; one to guard the Hotel de Ville, another against the Committee of Public Safety, and a third he ordered to operate against the Convention. Robespierre and his associates in the Hotel de Ville formed themselves into a Convention, and pronounced the representatives of the people to be traitors of their country. This was the most critical and alarming period since the commencement of the Revolution. The most worthy and respectable inhabitants of Paris now imagined that their future destiny turned upon the event of this day; and, therefore, taking advantage of the ringing of the alarm bell, they roused the citizens to their aid by the cry of, *Vive la Convention!*

In the mean time, the representatives of the people, in the hall of the Convention, were uncommonly active; for, on receiving intelligence of the escape of Robespierre and his associates, they declared them outlaws and traitors, and a deputation of their members was chosen to lead on the people against the usurpers. Barras was appointed, *pro tempore*, Commander in Chief, and the celebrated Bourdon de l'Oise, together with Freron, Beaupiré Leonard Bourdon, Ferrand, and Rovere, were nominated his assistants. A proclamation was issued in all the districts of the metropolis, calling upon the inhabitants to defend their liberties and national representation. This answered their purpose, for the national guards, who had never discovered themselves attached to the object of Henriot their commander, embraced this opportunity wholly to abandon him. The Robespierreans had endeavoured to force the posts in the Carousal by the assistance of their artillery, but they were defeated, and their commanding officer was taken prisoner.

On the morning of the 28th July, between two and three o'clock, the members of the Convention who had been nominated to the command of the people, found themselves qualified to attack the Hotel de Ville with success, were the outlaw and his adherents had taken refuge. Bourdon de l'Oise at the same time made his appearance at the Place de Greve, where he read the proclamation issued by the Convention; and, on his penetrating into the hall of the commune in complete armour, the rebels were deserted in the moment of the greatest danger, and, in despair, they turned their own weapons against themselves, preferring suicide to a public execution, but most of them were prevented from the accomplishment of their designs. Robespierre discharged a pistol in his mouth, which only wounded him in the jaw, while he received a wound from a gens d'arme in his side. His brother fractured a leg and an arm by throwing himself from a window; but none of them accomplished their deaths by their own hands, except Le Bas, who shot himself upon the spot.

By haranguing his troops from a window in the hotel, the *ci-devant* commander made a last but fruitless effort to bring them back to the defence of the traitors; when at the desire of some persons in the streets, he was thrown out of the window by Cossintal of the municipality, for endeavouring to seduce him from his allegiance to the Convention. The rebels were immediately carried before the Revolutionary Tribunal, and, as it was no difficult matter to identify their persons, the process became short and easy. They were all condemned to suffer death in the Place de la Revolution, where they had shed the blood of the unfortunate Louis XVI. of his penitent consort, and of their own numerous associates in wickedness, as well as of many innocent persons. On the 28th July, at seven in the evening, they were conveyed to the place of execution, accompained by a more prodigious concourse of people than were ever assembled on a similar

occasion. But no language can do justice to the transports which were depicted in every countenance, while the immense mass of people were unanimous in exclaiming, *Ah, the Villains! Live the Republic! Live the Convention!* The faces of Maximilian Robespierre, Couthon, and Henriot, particularly attracted the attention of the populace, as they were wholly covered with blood and wounds.

It became the fashion, immediately on the accusation and after the death of this extraordinary person, to speak of him in the most opprobrious language, and to call him by the most offensive names, even by those very wretches under whose orders he acted. The majority of the Convention always had the power of restraining the vices of the people; the decrees of that body were in no instance resisted successfully, and it was impossible for the five men that were guillotined to have given more than five votes upon any question. If rivers of innocent blood were shed, as the Conventionalists say, by these men, it only proves that they executed what the Convention sanctioned, for they never acted without the authority of its decrees. Was it wrong in Robespierre to oppose the motion for shewing greater favour to Danton's party than had been granted to the Brissotines and others? How much worse was the conduct of the Convention, if it voted for the previous question under a conviction of its impropriety! The real cause of the overthrow of these men was, that they were *too honest for their criminal colleagues*, and when they fell, not the least remnant of honour, integrity, or any quality that men call virtuous, was left in the Convention. Their crimes were great and numerous, but they were only the agents of the Convention, which gave them their orders. They were very few in number, and they had the courage to identify themselves with their measures, but not one measure that they were secured for could they have accomplished, if the cowardly Majority, who gave their silent votes, had pos-

sessed the small quantum of boldness necessary to speak its own opinion. The Convention now consisted of cowards and criminals, whose consciences convicted them of the basest crimes, and who, not possessing honour enough to acknowledge their own guilt, made a merit of sacrificing their instruments to the vengeance of the people, with the view of securing an act of oblivion for themselves.

THE END OF CHAP. XXIII.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Fate of the Netherlands decided....Milstary Ærostation....Retreat of the Duke of York....Capture of Mons.... Austrians leave Brussels....Nieuport taken....Singular Expression of Prince Cobourg....The Prince of Orange retreats....Indifference of the Dutch....Clairfait defeated by Kleber at the Iron Mountain....Louvain taken....Namur evacuated....French enter Antwerp and Liege....Island of Cadsand, and Sluys taken....Geaeral Michaud defeats the Austrians, &c. at Spires....Tripstadt taken....Further defeat of the Imperialists....Treves taken....General Scherer takes Landrecy and Quesnoy....Valenciennes taken and the Emigrants massacred....Conde surrenders....The British retreat to Breda and Bois-le-duc....Pichegru follows the Allies....Prince Cobourg, the Stadtholder, and the Emperor, issue Manifestoes....Earl Spencer and Mr. Grenville dispatched to Vienna....The Emperor is subsidized....Prince Cobourg dismissed....The Austrians defeated at Leige and retreat....Dreadful Defeat and Losses of Clairfait....Juliers taken....French enter Cologne....Coblentz taken....Frauendal and Worms taken....Bingen taken.

THE battle of Fleurus appeared to be decisive of the fate of the Netherlands. It was fought on the same ground whereon the French had discomfited the Allies a century before, and Jourdan, at the head of Republican troops, became the rival of the Marshall Luxembourgh. The most important intelligence had been obtained during the action by the frequent elevation of a balloon, to which Etienne, Adjutant-General of the army, was attached, and who corresponded with the French General during the action, and informed them of every new position assumed by the enemy. He ascertained their number and designs, and conveyed his information by means of

notes fastened to an arrow. The loss of the Combined Forces was very great, and the effects of these disasters were prodigious. They retreated in all quarters, and left, Bruges, Tournay, Mons, Oudenarde, Brussels, and even Namur, unprotected.

The Duke of York retreated from Tournay to Renaix, and General Walmoden abandoned Bruges. Earl Moira, however, afforded the British Commander in Chief considerable assistance, after he had repulsed the French at Alost, where Lieutenant-colonels, Doyle and Vandeleur particularly distinguished themselves, and at Malines, where he compelled them to retire, after they had successfully attacked the out-posts of the Duke in front of the canal leading from Brussels to Antwerp.

Notwithstanding the event of the battle of Fleurus, the Prince of Saxe Cobourg appeared determined not to relinquish the ancient domain of the House of Austria without an obstinate struggle. He assembled the remainder of the army, which the French immediately attacked, and forced from Mons. The rear guard of the Allies left the town by one gate at the moment the van of the French entered by another. The Prince entrenched himself at Soignies, and rendered the post as formidable as that of Jemappe. The French, however, braved the fire of the immense body of artillery, and demonstrated their excellent discipline by undauntedly disregarding the slaughter which ensued. They rushed, with fixed bayonets, up to the batteries and redoubts, and their victory was completed amidst a dreadful carnage. The Austrians hastily retreated through Brussels: the inhabitants beheld their flight with satisfaction. They opened their gates to the French legions with the utmost testimonies of joy, and immediately proceeded to proclaim their union with the Republic, whose armies had been so eminently victorious. Oudenarde, Ghent, and Ostend joined in these exultations, and the dominion of the Low Countries was lost to Austria, probably for ever.

About the 10th of July the French armies of the North, Sambre, and Meuse, effected a junction at Brussels, and obtained an immense quantity of stores, as well as magazines, during their rapid and almost uninterrupted career. The luxuriant crops of the Netherlands were then upon the grounds; and the Republicans levied on the corporations, and particularly the monks, considerable contributions of money and corn. Nieuport gallantly resisted till the 19th, although, during the whole period of the blockade, it was dreadfully bombarded by an army of 30,000 men.

His Royal Highness the Duke of York about this period received from the Prince of Cobourg a letter, in which, speaking of the Allied Powers, he uses this memorable expression: "We are (or seem to be) bewitched." He certainly could not have more forcibly expressed the total want of system in their co-operations. Neither skill, courage, nor experience on the part of the Commanders were of avail in the execution of these ill-concerted operations.

The Prince of Orange was stationed at Waterloo, but, on account of the strong reinforcements which the enemy were constantly receiving, he soon found this post no longer tenable, and, on the 16th, he retreated across the Dyle, with considerable loss. He fixed his head quarters at Niel, where the French did not allow him to continue long. The victories, promptitude, and courage of the French, rendered them invincible to the armies of the Allies. The Stadtholder invited the Dutch, by repeated proclamations, to give every tenth man for the service of his country, to humble the pride of France; but which his citizens listened to with much coldness and indifference.

In the mean time, General Kleber took his route from Brussels towards Louvain, on the 15th of July, having one division under his command; to favour which movement, Lefevre, Dubois, Champignet, and Morlet, con-

tinued their march in the front of the Dyle. At a place denominated the Iron Mountain, General Clairfait attempted to stop the progress of the enemy, but was totally defeated, with the loss of 6,000 men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The abbey of Florival was seized upon by Generals Dubois and Lefevre, while Kleber attacked Louvain, with the advanced guard of his army, which, after a gallant resistance, was compelled to surrender. In the rapid retreat of the Austrians towards Tirlemont, before the victorious Republicans under the command of Lefevre, they lost a prodigious number of men in killed and taken prisoners.

The defence of Namur was seriously intended by the Combined Powers, but the career of the enemy was so astonishing (and as little minds seldom anticipate great results, so unexpected) that the execution of their plan became wholly impracticable. Namur was, therefore, evacuated in the night of the 16th by General Beaulieu, and, on the 20th, the keys of it were presented at the bar of the Convention.

The armies of the Republic at the same period, forced the famous pass at the town of Lier, which was defended by general Walmoden; and, they dispatched a trumpeter to Antwerp, to announce their rapid march, and design of entering that city. On the 24th they obtained possession of Antwerp without trouble or opposition, and found immense magazines of hay and 30 pieces of cannon, notwithstanding the Combined Powers had destroyed magazines of forage, prior to their departure, which were valued at half a milion sterling.

The retreat of the Austrians from Louvain, left the whole territory of Liege exposed to the incursions of the intrepid Jourdan. He pressed the enemy closely to Mæstricht, when his advanced guard proceeded, on the 27th, towards the river Jaar, at which time the Combined Army was stationed before Liege, where it resisted the

cannonade of the French for some time, but was at length obliged to retreat with loss. The Republicans entered Liege, while the Allies entrenched themselves on the height of Chartreux.

During these transactions, the Allies were under the necessity of abandoning Fort Lillo, on the river Scheldt, while General Moreau made himself master of the island of Cadsand, in which were found 70 pieces of cannon, one-third of which were brass, besides a great number of tents and waggons, with a vast quantity of military and other stores. General Almain, summoned the garrison of Sluys to surrender; but Vanderdugan replied, "the honour of defending a place like Sluys, that of commanding a brave garrison, and the confidence they repose in me, are my answer." This brave officer sustained the incessant assaults of the besiegers till the 25th of August, at which period he surrendered. The whole garrison were made prisoners, but the French General permitted them to march out with the honours of war, in testimony of the gallant defence they had made.

The armies of the Rhine and Moselle had also their share of glory. General Michaud gave the Austrians and Prussians battle at Spires. A dreadful and sanguinary conflict ensued, and victory appeared doubtful. Early the next day the French engaged the Prussians with still greater vigour, and carried by assault, after seven attacks, the important posts which the Prussians had fortified on the summit of Platoberg, said to be the loftiest mountain in the territory of Deux Ponts. Here the Republicans obtained possession of nine guns, independent of ammunition, waggons, horses, and a number of prisoners. The remainder of the Prussian troops, commanded by the Prince of Hohenlohe, retreated to Edickhoffen. At Tripstadt, after a severe and bloody contest, the French were completely victorious, and took possession of two howitzers, with six pieces of cannon.

On the afternoon of the 15th a still more brilliant en-

gagement took place. The French attacked every post belonging to the enemy, from Newstadt to the Rhine, (a distance of about 17 miles) along the river Rebach. A heavy cannonade was commenced at two o'clock, and continued till eight in the evening, at which time the troops of the Emperor retreated with the utmost precipitation and disorder, and effected the passage of the Rhine, while the Prussians, under prince Hohenlohe, retreated towards Guntersblum, and another detachment towards Mentz. Keiserslautern surrendered to the French without any opposition.

The army of the Moselle having marched in three separate columns, engaged to meet together at Treves at the same hour. In their route they attacked and carried many posts belonging to the Allies, fulfilling their engagement on the 8th, by meeting on a spacious plain, and immediately surrounding Treves. The Imperial troops having deserted the city in the greatest hurry and confusion, one of the columns entered in the afternoon; the magistrates, in the insignia of their office, presenting them, at the gates, with the keys.

The Republicans determined to retake the garrisons they had previously conquered, and which had been again subdued by the Allies. General Scherer laid siege to Landrecy, but before he fired a gun, peremptorily summoned the town to surrender, and failed not at the same time to acquaint the garrison, that no terms of capitulation would be accepted. On the 15th, therefore, the garrison, consisting of 2,000 men, complied, and 117 pieces of cannon were found in the place. Quesnoy followed the example of Landrecy. It was defended by 3,000 men; and the Republicans found in it vast quantities of arms, ammunition, and provisions, together with 119 pieces of cannon.

On the 26th, Valenciennes also fell into the hands of the French. The Republicans here found immense stores of every description, together with 1,000 cattle, 200

pieces of cannon, 1,000,000 pounds of gunpowder, 3,000,000 of florins in specie, 6,500,000 of livres, and vast quantities of oats and other corn, which, perhaps, might be estimated at 1,000,000 sterling. His Imperial Majesty had expended not less than 3,000,000 on the fortifications, but it treacherously surrendered by capitulation. The Allies, upon this occasion, delivered up near 1,000 Emigrants to the implacable hatred and vengeance of their countrymen! The policy is detestable which affords protection to men so unfortunately circumstanced, and betrays them in the moment of danger.

The surrender of Condé immediately followed. The garrison consisted of 1,606 men, who surrendered as prisoners of war; and, in addition to the vast quantities of provision it contained, the French found 161 pieces of cannon, 6,000 muskets, independent of those in the garrison; 300,000 pounds of gunpowder, 100,000 bombs, balls, and shells; 1,500,000 cartridges, 600,000 pounds of lead, and 191 waggons with stores and provisions. The fortifications stood in no need of repair; and the garrison had room for a much greater number of men.

The British army, on retreating from Antwerp, took its route towards Breda. The right column went through the city on the 4th of August, and the left marched round it, for the purpose of occupying a position, about four miles distant, to wait the issue of events, and co-operate with the garrison. In the mean time the Prince of Orange was incessantly employed in putting the town and garrison in the best situation for defence, which, it was reasonable to believe, would be powerfully assisted against the enemy by the Duke of York's army, at that time consisting of 25,000 men. The Duke, however, retreated from Breda towards Bois-le-Duc, in the end of August, meeting with little or no opposition from the enemy.

In the beginning of September, General Pichegru appeared at the head of 80,000 men. The Republicans forced the posts on the Dommel and the village of Boxtel

on the 24th, with their advanced guard. His Royal Highness retreated across the Meuse on the 16th, and occupied a position about three miles from Grave. In the attack of the Republicans on the above-mentioned posts, the Dutch state that the Allies lost 2,000 men, and add, that the Duke of York's retreat gave such an easy passage into Holland, after crossing the Meuse, in the vicinity of Bommel, that an enemy possessed of much less courage and intrepidity than the French, would have readily undertaken it.

No sooner were the Netherlands evacuted, than the Prince of Coburg employed all his efforts, by virtue of a proclamation, to rouse the circles of Germany to make a desperate effort in the vindication of Germanic Liberty. He frankly confessed that the resources of the French were inexhaustible, and their forces innumerable. He declared that if they did not come boldy forward, and assist to the utmost of their power in repelling the invaders, he would pass the Rhine, leaving them and their property to be plundered by the Republicans. This manifesto produced no more effect than a similar manifesto of the Stadtholder, who declared, that " such an enemy could not be opposed by *scanty contributions*; and that the force that should be opposed to them required the greatest efforts."

This, however, was not the season for issuing manifestoes, after the French had been so eminently victorious in almost every quarter; but the Emperor thought himself under an equal necessity to try the experiment. He acknowledged that his resources were wholly inadequate to the task of combating such an enemy with any hope of success. He seemed to feel indignant at the conduct of his Prussian Majesty, in accepting a subsidy from Great Britain, and neglecting so shamefully to fulfil his compact. He declared, that such was the prodigious strength of the French armies, and so inconceivably rapid their march, that he found it absolutely necessary to with-

draw his forces from the unavailing contest, and employ them in defending the frontiers of his own dominions. Although this melancholy picture had no effect on the circles of Germany, notwithstanding they were so near the scene of action, it gave no small degree of alarm to the British cabinet. Earl Spencer, and the honourable Thomas Grenville, were immediately dispatched to the court of Vienna, to implore the Emperor not to recede from the coalition. They were, at length, successful, and the prediction was verified, that "the subsidising of Prussia would induce other powers to make a dupe of this country, and only continue the war upon similar conditions." This regulation having been effected, the Prince of Saxe Cobourg was dismissed from his command, and took leave of his army in a most pathetic address.

In the beginning of September the Austrians under General Latour, were strongly entrenched in the vicinity of Liege; and two fortified camps were occupied by 18,000 men, on the right side of the river Aywaille, whose banks had also the natural defence of very steep rocks. The Republicans, who, on the 18th, attacked, in four columns, the whole of the enemy's line from the Aywaille, carried all the passages at the point of the bayonet, and took possession of the camps at full charge. The loss sustained by the Austrians, upon this occasion, amounted to 2,000 men killed, 700 prisoners, 26 pieces of cannon, three pairs of colours, 100 horses, and 40 ammunition waggons, together with the General's own carriage, his secretary, and his papers. General Clairfait, then posted between Liege and Maestricht, sent 18 battalions for the support of the left wing of Latour, by which opportune assistance he was enabled, on the night of the 18th, to collect the scattered fragments of his army. The French again gave him battle on the ensuing day, and he was under the necessity of retreating to Herve, after the loss of all his artillery

General Clairfait being no longer able to maintain his position, retreated to Juliers; and on the 21st, the French made their triumphant entrance into Aix-la-Chapelle. The day prior to this event an engagement took place between a division of the Republican army and the Austrian rear-guard, at Clermont, which is only worthy of notice, to display one of those surprising instances of inconsistency discovered between different official accounts. According to the statement of General Clairfait, the French lost 2,000 men, and the Austrians only 30 killed and 300 wounded; while the Republican Commissioner, Gillet, states the loss of the Austrians at 800 men, and their own at only nine killed, and 12 wounded.

The position of Clairfait at Juliers, was taken with that judgment and military knowledge for which he has always been eminently distinguished; but the French, on the 29th, crossed the Roer, and gave battle to the whole posts of the brave, but unfortunate, Austrian Commander, which extended from Ruremonde to Juliers and Duren, a distance of 32 miles. The conflict between the hostile armies was terrible, and continued during the whole of the 29th and 30th of September, and on the 1st and 2d of October, but on the 3d, victory declared in favour of the Republicans. Clairfait being no longer able to maintain the combat, and having suffered a dreadful loss, he took advantage of a fog, to effect his retreat. The city of Juliers immediately surrendered, the arsenal of which was abundantly supplied, the French found in it 60 pieces of cannon, together with 50,000 pounds of gunpowder. The Austrian General could only retreat in the greatest confusion, so that he lost prodigious numbers of men in retreating as well as fighting. They were estimated by the French at 5,000, including 700 prisoners; and the Dutch official accounts stated the whole loss of the Allies, during the action and retreat, at 13,000 men.

Cologne was taken possession of by the French on the 6th of October, and they were received by the inhabi-

tants with every domonstration of joy. Venlo and Nuys also surrendered, and many vessels on the rivers, laden with useful and valuable articles, were captured. Fifty chasseurs entered Bonn on the morning of the 7th, who, on the evening of the same day, were followed by 3,000 more.

Coblentz had become odious to the Republicans, as being earliest and most forward in harbouring the Emigrants. The Allies were engaged for the space of two months in erecting very formidable redoubts before it. In October General Jourdan sent General Marceau to Coblentz, with the division under his command, who fell in with the hussars of the Allies on the 22d, when he vigorously engaged them, killed vast numbers, and took 50 prisoners. On the ensuing day he carried the redoubts with his infantry, by assault, and completely turned them by his cavalry, which obliged the Austrians to repass the Rhine in the greatest confusion. The Republican army of the Rhine was also marching from victory to victory. Frankenthal submitted to the French on the 17th of October, and the next day they made their triumphant entrance into the city of Worms. The army of the Moselle likewise made a conquest of Bingen, from which capture the siege of Mentz may be considered as begun.

THE END OF CHAP. XXIV.

CHAPTER XXV.

Further Successes of the French Armies....Crevecœur and Bois-le-Duc taken....Pichegru permitted to retire from the Army, but previously defeats the Duke of York on the Waal....The French repulsed at Nimeguen....Allies evacuate Nimeguen....General Michaud's Successes on the Scheldt.... Defeat of General Latour....Maestricht besieged and taken ....Proceedings of the French Armies in Spain....Bellegarde surrenders to Dugommier....Dugommier killed....St. Fernando de Figueres, and St. Jean de Lutz, taken by the French....Spaniards defeated near Hoya....St. Sebastian surrenders....Further defeats of the Spaniards....Misfortune of the British in the West Indies, Death of General Dundas....Victor Hugues arrives with a French Squadron, and lands at Guadaloupe, and, after various Success, drives the British from the Island, and destroys the Royalists.

THE Republicans, in the interim, brought the greatest part of their forces to act against Bois-le-Duc; fort Crevecœur surrendered on the 27th of September. It contained 500 men, 29 pieces of cannon, 1,000 muskets, and 30,000 pounds of powder. Bois-le-Duc fell into the hands of the Republicans soon after the reduction of Crevecœur. The garrison consisted of 2,500 men. The victors found in this place the prodigious number of 146 pieces of cannon (the whole of them, except 39, being of brass) 130,000 pounds of powder, and 9,000 fusees.

After the conquests of Bois-le-Duc, General Pichegru requested leave of absence from his army, his health having been, by incessant fatigue, considerably impaired. This General had commanded during two active campaigns, "without being once beaten." The Convention agreed to grant his request; and, in the interim nominated

General Moreau to succeed him in the command. General Pichegrü did not, however, immediately avail himself of the liberty granted him by the Convention. The Duke of York states, that on the 19th, the Republicans attacked every advanced post on his right wing in very great force, and that his post to the left of the 37th regiment was routed, which obliged Major Hope to retreat upon the dyke along the Waal, which he continued to do for some time, without meeting with much opposition from the enemy. His Royal Highness then adds: "Unfortunately, however, a strong body of the enemy's hussars being mistaken for the corps of Rohan, the regiment allowed them to come on unmolested; when the hussars immediately attacked, and the narrowness of the dyke, which, on every other occasion, must have afforded a security to the infantry, in this instance acted against them, as they were driven off it by the enemy's charge." Of the 37th regiment, only the major, and 50 men, escaped the devastations of the field of battle. General Pichegru says, that he made 600 prisoners, besides 69 Emigrants, and took four pieces of cannon. Three hundred of the unfortunate Emigrants were also cut to pieces.

A large detachment of the French having effected the passage of the Meuse, for the purpose of attacking the left wing of his army, on the 4th of October, General Walmoden ordered a sortie to be made from Nimeguen, under the direction of Major-general de Burgh, consisting of 3,000 men, including Dutch, British, and Hanoverians. By the official returns of the Duke of York, the Republicans lost about 500 men, and that of the Allies, independent of the Dutch, was 210. The intrepid General de Burgh, who commanded the sortie, was among the number of the wounded. This gave a check to the designs of the French troops.

A partial evacuation of the town had taken place, and was to be succeeded by its complete desertion, an event

which happened on the evening of the 7th of October. The Hanoverian and British troops found means to effect a retreat in a tolerable manner; but their extreme hurry in demolishing the bridge before the Dutch troops, by which the retreat was covered, could reach the bridge, was productive of the most fatal effects to the interests of the Allies. Finding it in a conflagration, they endeavoured to pass the river by means of the great flying bridge; but they were no sooner got upon it, than it swung round towards the city, either owing to the Republican artillery having cut the ropes, by which it was retained in one position, or form a fatal mistake of the troops on the right side of the Waal, who, conceiving that the enemy were in possession of the bridge, fired upon them for a considerable time. The consequence was, that they either perished by the shot or in the river, or were taken prisoners by the Republicans, who were then in possession of Nimeguen. General Michaud, on the 23d of October, obtained the surrender of Philippine, on the Scheldt, as well as of Sas-de-Ghent.

The Austrian General Latour was no sooner defeated, than the French passed the Meuse, and General Kleber summoned Mentz to surrender on the 26th September, but without effect. Notwithstanding two sorties of the besieged, the batteries were established in less than two days, together with some strong works on the Limberg. The Republican artillery was augmented on the 20th October by thirty pieces of cannon; and on the 23d, they finished their first parallel, and began the second. General Kleber sent the town a second summons on the 30th, and, as soon as the trumpeter departed from the gates, the besieging army poured a most terrible quantity of shot and shells into the town, which they continued during the whole of the night. In the whole circumference of the city it was difficult to find a spot which could be deemed a place of safety; many public, as well as private buildings, were totally destroyed, and nothing could

be heard but the dismal groans of the wounded and the dying.

Such was the obstinacy of the besieged, that this dreadful spectacle was continued for three days; at the expiration of which, the earnest importunities of the magistrates and people prevailed so far upon the governor, that he proposed to negociate with General Kleber, and the city surrendered, by capitulation, on the 4th of November. The garrison were made prisoners of war, and were not to appear in arms against the Republic of France till regularly exchanged. During this dreadful siege, 200 persons were killed, including the city and garrison, and no less than 2,000 buildings were either totally demolished, or rendered uninhabitable. During the siege, the prodigious number of 12,000 bombs, balls, and shells had been thrown into the city, some of the first weighing 224lb. Kleber had resolved on the very day it surrendered, to attempt its reduction by a general storm, which the whole garrison would not have been able to resist, although it consisted of 7,300 men, including Dutch, Austrians, and hussars.

At this period, the army of the Eastern Pyrenees claims attention. It was commanded by General Doppet, who proceeded, on the 14th of June, from Puycerda to Campredon, where he fixed his head quarters, after he had made himself master of Tonges and Ribes. At Ripoll he attacked a large manufactory of arms, which the Spaniards had established in that place, and succeeded in adding a vast quantity of them to his military stores. The siege of Bellegarde was incessantly carried on, for the relief of which place count de l'Union made a vigorous attempt, on the 13th of August, after receiving a strong reinforcement of foreign battalions lately come from Africa. The Republicans at first gave away; but they returned to the charge, soon got possession of the heights, from which they had formerly been driven, and accomplished the total defeat of the Spaniards, who left

2,500 dead in the field. The French, in this action, lost General Mirabel, together with 187 killed, and 600 wounded.

Bellegarde surrendered to General Dugommier on the 20th of the ensuing month, the garrison of which consisted of 6000 men. On the 21st, however, Count de l'Union made a very spirited attempt to retake it, but was obliged to abandon every idea of succeeding, after having lost 600 men, and four pieces of cannon. In this quarter, the victorious career of General Dugommier terminated, by a memorable victory which he obtained over the Spaniards and Emigrants at Spouilles. The most dreadful havock was made of the unfortunate Emigrants; but, a thousand Spaniards and Portuguese, who surrendered, obtained quarter as prisoners of war. While General Dugommier was upon the Black Mountain, that he might direct the military operations in the most effectual manner, he was killed by a shell. The 20th of the same month, Count l'Union, and three other Spanish Generals were slain, in the vicinity of St. Fernando de Figueres. This place had cost the Spanish court a prodigious sum of money, and six months were taken up in the erecting of one hundred batteries for its defence, all mounted with pieces of very heavy artillery. Their forces here were 40,000 men, whose entrenchments were remarkably strong; these vast works which had required them six months to finish, were carried by the Republicans in the space of three hours! The fort St. Fernando surrendered on the third day, although its garrison consisted of 9,107 men, who were all made prisoners. In this place the Republicans found 171 pieces of cannon, and 5,000 stand of arms, having also captured 12 founderies for the casting of cannon, and a prodigious quantity of ammunition. In a few days, another victory was obtained by the troops in that quarter, when 500 men were taken prisoners, together with the military chest,

and one brass cannon, the only one of that metal which the Spaniards then had in their possession.

The Republican Army of the Western Pyrenees was equally successful; for, at the end of July, the redoubt of Mary Louisa, the camp of St. Jean de Luz, and the fort of St. Barbe, were stormed and carried, in the space of a day, by Delaforde, general of division. In these actions the Spaniards lost a vast number of men in killed, besides 320 who were taken prisoners, with 200 tents, seven pieces of cannon, and prodigious quantities of ammunition and small arms. The villages of Bera and Lessaca likewise fell into the hands of the French, which were a most valuable acquisition, as they contained extensive granaries for the support of the army. An affair still more interesting immediately happened; 6,000 French, on the 1st of August, completely routed 15,000 Spaniards, who were posted near the mountain of Haya, by which means they got possession of immense magazines, 2,000 muskets, six stand of colours, 200 pieces of cannon and howitzers, tents sufficient to contain 25,000 men, and 2,000 prisoners, among whom were comprehended two whole regiments, who laid down their arms on the very same day Fontarabia was taken.

The next day (2d August,) a division of the Republican army, commanded by General Moncey, took the port of the passage; the day following St. Sebastian was invested, and, the next morning, surrendered by capitulation; the garrison of which, containing 2,000 men, were made prisoners of war: upwards of 180 pieces of cannon, with a large quantity of ammunition and stores, fell into the hands of the conquerors. No sooner was the reduction of these places effected, than two ships, laden with powder, ball, wine, and other articles, ignorant of the surrender of the place, entered the port of the passage, and became a prey to the Republicans, who extended their advanced posts to the gates of Tolosa.

In the beginning of September, the Spaniards again endeavoured to rally their scattered forces, but all their attempts against the victorious Republicans were ineffectual, for 6,000 of them were defeated by 600 French; at which time, however, 150 of the Walloon Guards deserted to the enemy, a circumstance which renders it extremely probable that the Republicans were, at least, as much indebted for victory to the disaffection of the Spanish troops as to their own courage and intrepidity. They had established a line of posts to the extent of forty leagues, which the French attacked in twelve different places at once, without waiting to be assaulted by the enemy. The Spaniards had intrenched themselves upon the heights, and were strongly fortified; but the Republicans carried, at the point of the bayonet, their intrenchments near Beddaditz, Cubeg, and Villaneuva, and their numerous works, which had constituted the labours of more than a year, were entirely demolished. The French General had conceived the design of surrounding the whole Spanish army; but one of the columns destined to assist him in the accomplishment of this object did not arrive in time; and the Spaniards, taking the advantage of a thick fog, retreated as far as Sangonella, with the serious loss of 5,000 men.

In the West Indies, the British forces, originally too weak for the subjugation of the French Islands, were prodigiously diminished by the ravages of disease, and Major General Dundas died of a fever at Guadaloupe, after a few days illness. But this calamity was not destined to terminate the misfortunes of Britain in India. A French squadron appeared off the island on the 3d of June, consisting of two ships of 50 guns each, one of 40, one frigate, and five transports, who seemed to mediate an attack upon Fort Fleur d'Epée.

It appears that the commandant of that place, Colonel Drummond, was egregiously mistaken respecting the actual force of the Republicans when he estimated them

at 300 men. In consequence of this deception he complied with the earnest importunity of the Royalists, to be sent against them; and a detachment of 180 volunteers, under the command of Captain M'Dowal, of the 43d regiment, were sanguine enough to hope they should surprise them at the village of Gozier, where they had posted themselves; but the first fire made the Royalists retreat, and it is believed that very few of them returned to the fort. The French put on shore thirteen boats full of men on the 5th, and commenced an attack upon Fort Fleur d'Epée the next day, which they carried by assault, and obliged the British garrison to retreat to Fort Louis with considerable loss; but even this place was not considered as tenable, or affording any proper defence, on which account Colonel Drummond thought it expedient to retreat to Basseterre.

The Republican Commissioner, Victor Hugues, a man fitted by nature for desperate enterprises, was intrusted by the Convention, with discretionary authority: he directly proceeded to put the island in the best possible state of defence, issued the famous decree of the Convention, relative to the emancipation of the negroes, furnished a strong body of them with armour and apparel, and also equipped many of the mulattoes, on whose attachment he thought he could depend. Sir Charles Grey, on his part, was equally diligent; he collected all the troops he possibly could upon the shortest notice, and set sail from St. Kitt's for the island of Guadaloupe, at which place he arrived on the 19th of June, under cover of the British fleet.

The bravest and best disciplined troops cannot hope for success when they have to contend with vastly superior numbers, inflamed by violent passions: Sir Charles was convinced of this; and, as the rainy season was already commenced, he determined, if possible, to put a period to the campaign by striking a decisive blow: for this purpose he dispatched Brigadier General Symes,

at the head of three battalions of grenadiers and light infantry, together with a battalion of sailors, in order to commence an attack upon Point-a-Petré, and endeavour to take it by surprise. By a mistake of the guide, they entered at the strongest side, and were exposed to the grapeshot of the Republicans in a place where they could not get possession of the fort by scaling-ladders. Their retreat was retarded by an incessant firing from the houses: the British General, and two other officers of rank, were wounded, and 600 men were lost in this melancholy affair.

Sir Charles Grey was obliged to send a detachment of troops and seamen to cover the retreat of the unfortunate division.—They succeeded in retiring to Gozier, and in embarking part of the forces. The town and shipping were attempted to be destroyed by batteries of heavy artillery, as well as mortars, and the gun-boats were occupied in battering the fort at Point-a-Petre and La Fleur d'Epée. Victor Hugues had, however, made such able dispositions, that although he was not a military man, he acquired a decided superiority. He issued energetic proclamations, and inflamed the courage and aroused the hopes of those devoted to his cause, and, exaggerating his recent victory, he asserted, that "one Republican battalion, two frigates, and three transports, had defeated a British Admiral, with six ships of the line, 12 frigates, and eight sloops of war, together with a General at the head of 12 battalions, and a horde of Aristocrats; while not a single Republican had been made prisoner during a combat of forty days."

Successful resistance to a man, who had contrived to arm both master and slave in one common cause, was not to be expected. The Admiral and the General, who had retired to Martinique, awaited in vain the succours they solicited from England and determined to adopt a defensive system of warfare, until they should arrive. They

hoped that the naval force stationed at The Saintes, would render Basseterre secure from invasion. The watchful and persevering spirit of the enemy was predominant, for the vigilance of the English shipping was eluded, and a landing effected, during a dark night. They seized on Petitbourg, and basely put many of the sick and wounded to death, and they succeeded so well in annoying the English posts, and the men of war, with red-hot shot, that General Graham reluctantly consented to capitulate, and the British troops were allowed the honours of war. No amnesty, however, could be obtained for the white and free people of colour, although they had taken the oath of Allegiance to his Britannic Majesty; the privilege of a covered boat only was allowed, in which some of the principal Royalists were conveyed to a place of safety: the remainder, who had proposed to cut their way through the ranks of their countrymen, either suffered as rebels, by the guillotine, or perished by the musketry of the motely army who made them prisoners.

Thus by the exertions of a single individual, aided by a small force from the Mother Country, and a few lines, annulling slavery, Guadaloupe was restored to France; and certainly if the humanity of Victor Hugues had been as conspicuous as his talents, he would have been surpassed by few men of the present times.

THE END OF CHAP. XXV.

CHAPTER XXVI.

State of Parties in the Convention....Clamours against the Jacobins, and other popular Clubs....Great Debates in the Convention thereon....The Jacobins attempt to regain Popularity....Tallien, and his Party....Their Efforts to destroy the Jacobins....Frequent Executions of the Terrorists....Freron's Observation on the Tendency of frequent Punishments....Attempts to conciliate the insurgent Royalists....Temperate Measures of the Convention favourable to the Progress of their Armies....The Dutch court a Union with the French Republicans....The Authority of the Stadtholder declines, and the Dutch Patriots became bolder.... Allied Armies at Arnheim dreadfully reduced by disease.... The French frequently attempt to cross the Waal, and repulsed....The Meuse and the Waal become frozen; the French cross, and compel the British to recross the Waal....The Duke of York leaves the Army....Deplorable Condition of the British Army.

THE Convention considered themselves bound to ensure the good opinion of the people, by some measure which should apparently secure the safety of the Republic from the design of any ambitious individual. Their discussions were long and tumultuous; several decrees were passed, and the name of the "Committee of Public Safety," was changed to that of the "Committee of Military Diplomatic Operations." Factions, however, divided the Convention even now: the Jacobin Club still continued, and were the odious partisans of the same system that Robespierre had organized. The Moderatists were numerous, but had not energy sufficient to preserve their own power. Tallien, Dubois Crance, and others, denounced Barrere, Collot d'Herbois, Billaud de Varennes, David, Voulaud, Vadier, and Amar. Violent

debates ensued; the charges, containing twenty-six articles, accused them of having been the instruments of Robespierre, and of not having destroyed his power when they possessed the means: they were separately discussed, Collot d'Herbois, and some of the others, spoke in their own defence, and the charges were declared calumnious. This decision appeared to re-establish the power of Barrere, &c. at the expense of Tallien, Lecointre, and Dubois Crance, for a compromise was tacitly agreed to between the parties, and it was determined that neither should interrupt the unanimity of the Convention by accusing the other. This harmony, however, was very near being interrupted, by the Convention being informed, on the 10th of September, of an attempt that had been made to kill Tallien by a pistol shot, which had been fired at, and wounded him Some members moved the suppression of the Jacobin Club, but the majority were inclined to the motion being suspended until the report of the political state of France should be made; and it was ordered that in the interim, a report of the health of Tallien should be read every day, and inserted in the bulletin.

Although Barrere pronounced a strong panegyric on the Jacobin Club, and other tumultuous societies, their influence visibly declined; the people of the departments united their clamours to those of the people of Paris, and addresses were daily presented to the Convention, and satirical pamphlets published against the Jacobins. Cambacercs read an address in the Convention, which strongly urged the necessity of the people relying on their representatives. It was moderate, but firm, and called on the people to shun those who talked continually of blood and the scaffold; who, after enriching themselves with the spoils of the Revolution, sought for impunity in anarchy. It invited them to search out those modest men who did not court public employments, but who practised the Republican virtues, without ostentation.

This Address, which was adopted by the Convention with unanimous applause, was ordered to be printed, and sent to all the armies, communes, and popular societies of the Republic.

The discussions relative to the clubs became frequent, and, on one occasion, Tallien declared, that all who dared to raise a power to rival the Government, should be punished; that he had never been anxious to abolish popular societies, but to be useful they must be purified, and not serve as leaders to those who aim at establishing their own power by deceiving the people. These debates were frequently interrupted by deputations from the departments of Paris, Marseilles, &c. which expressed their approbation of the Address of the Convention. The farcicality of the Revolution still prevailed, and the Convention allowed the citizens of the "National Institution of Music," to enter their hall, and perform several pieces of music, composed by Jean Jacques Rousseau. These musicians seem to have been of no ordinary talent, for they prevailed on the Convention to follow them in a procession, and to celebrate a festival in honour of the citizen of Geneva.

The Jacobins seemed to feel that their strength was going from them; they were resolved, however, on making one effort for the recovery of their ascendancy. The day before the Committee that had been appointed to inquire into the state and influence of the popular societies presented their report, the "Society of Defenders of the Republic, one and indivisible," sitting at the *cidevant Jacobins*, rendered homage to the Address of the Convention to the people, congratulated it on the destruction of the reign of terror, and added, that, in taking their present name, they aimed at co-operating in enlightening the opinion of the people on their rights and duties. The Convention gravely ordered honourable mention of this, and insertion in the *bulletin*. The Jacobins scarcely expected this, they looked to the rejection of their Address as

being likely; but, at any rate, they hoped now to stand well in the opinion of the people. The Convention on the next day prepared to receive the report on the societies. The galleries and hall were crowded, and the avenues and streets were strongly guarded and paraded by patroles. The report was presented by Delmas, who stated the means by which the societies and clubs had obtained and preserved their ascendancy, and proposed as a decree, that all affiliations and correspondencies, in a collective name, between societies, should be prohibited; that no petitions or addresses should be made in a collective name, but that they should be individually signed; that those, who, as presidents or secretaries, should sign addresses or petitions in a collective name should be imprisoned as suspected persons, and that descriptive lists of the members of each society should be presented to the different municipalities. The decree passed, and the popular societies ought, from thenceforth, to be considered as *legally* abolished. The Jacobins neither obtained credit for the sincerity of their address to the Convention nor obtained any considerable number of members to speak in their favour.

Tallien had earnestly bent his mind towards the destruction of the Jacobin clubs, and he left no measure untried which was likely to effect his object. This man, who revelled in the spoils of the Revolution, and who aimed at a refinement of luxury, and displayed an expense of houshold that would have rivalled the establishment of any of the ancient *noblesse*, could not feel himself safe whilst any of that party existed, who had proposed to enquire into the property of every person throughout the Republic, not merely for the purpose of exacting a tax, but to judge at the same time of the probable means of increase of so many rapid fortunes that had been made during the Revolution. He could not associate with the Jacobins, who were desirous of acquiring power by straight forward and openly avowed measures; for although those

measures might have saved the Republic their promoters would have acquired honours, which if he had even been allowed to share, he could not long have preserved, in conjunction with them; and with those, who, "by their spirit of intrigue, and their restless agitating activity, were of a force far superior to their numbers," and were incapable of being governed, Tallien, who had acquired as much wealth, and as much popularity as he wished, was no longer desirous of connection. He was at the head of a party which were not less Jacobins in spirit than those whom they stigmatised by the name, and against whom they arrayed themselves; they were not less intriguing, not less restless, nor were they less active than their opponents; but they were wealthier, more venal, more voluptuous, and more unprincipled. Tallien and his party were of that class of men, whose enterprising talents, as an eloquent statesman has observed, revolted against the property of their country, who formed themselves into associations for the purpose of destroying its pre-existent laws and institutions; who secured to themselves an army, by dividing amongst the people of no property the estates of the ancient and lawful proprietors. France—therefore, when it recognised their acts; when it did not make confiscations for crimes, but made crimes for confiscations; when it had its principal strength, and all its resources in such a violation of property; when it stood chiefly upon such a violation; massacreing by judgments, or otherwise, those who made any struggle for their old legal government, and their legal hereditary or acquired possessions.—France, when it did this, established the *Tallien* Jacobinism; and we need only cast our eyes over some of the preceding pages to be assured of the fact.

Notwithstanding Tallien's declamation and his clamour, and the decrees of the Convention, the Jacobin Club continued their sittings, and the representative, Lequinio, declared in the Convention, that the Jacobins would

conduct themselves as they ought to do, if the representatives were no longer to attend their club; he, therefore, moved, that the representatives of the people should be prohibited from being members of any political society whilst the Convention continued to sit, and which motion was avoided by the order of the day. The Jacobin Club also presented a petition, stating "that a representative of the people, whose words had great weight, had denounced a correspondence between the Jocobins and a Committee of emigrants in Switzerland; that the Jacobins ought not only to be pure, but acknowledged to be so; they desired, therefore, that a report might be made upon this subject, in order that the guilty, if any of them were guilty, might be punished." On this petition, however, the Convention also passed to the order of the day, on the ground, that no citizens had a right to call for an account of what members said in their places.

The Jacobins, were eager to save Carrier, respecting whom the report of the commissioners, appointed to enquire into his conduct, was known to be ready: they assembled at the Thuilleries, the Palais Royal, and other public places; a violent contest ensued between them and the people; and they proceeded to blows. The people assailed the hall of the Jacobins, exclaiming "No more Jacobins! no more of those men of blood, who constantly oppose the representatives of the people." This event occasioned a violent agitation in the Convention, and several articles were proposed, which, if they had been decreed, would have in effect annihilated the Jacobins; and every other club throughout France.

In the mean time the Convention were occupied with other important concerns. Although Rebespierre with upwards of 70 of his immediate adherents, had been consigned to the executioner, it was judged proper to adopt measures for the extinction of those factious spirits, which still alarmed the well disposed part of the Parisians populace. Executions upon charges, which originated in

the Convention, were frequent, and were received with unmixed approbation, for they were inflicted on those terrible men, who had succeeded in filling the minds of the people with the most frightful alarms, and who had, under pretence of destroying the enemies of the Republic, spread devastation, massacre, and ruin, throughout the land. Although the motives assigned by the Convention for their conduct was satisfactory to every candid and virtuous mind, yet the timid and the irresolute, and those who were secretly disposed to the faction, which they saw sinking beneath the inflictions of the national vengeance, declaimed against the severity of these measures. The language of Freron, on the occasion, is not, however, devoid of truth. "The terror of punishment," says he, "is lost in its frequency; to make death be feared we must seldom inflict it. It is not the axe which is always falling, but the axe which is always ready to fall, on which the imagination and the eye dare not fix. Multiplied punishments, by rendering criminals more desperate, may destroy, in the minds of a whole people, that exquisite feeling of humanity, which is the principle, the end, and the perfection of all the social virtues."

The Convention next proceeded to investigate the cause of the horrid cruelties which had been perpetrated in La Vendee; they discovered that it originated in the ambitious and sanguinary conduct of the Robespierrean faction and the representative Carrier, who had been denounced, and executed, together with two members of the Revolutionary Committee of Nantz. The defence of this bold man was ingenious and argumentative, an honourable testimony of his abilities, but an atrocious memorial of the cruelty of his heart. Other individuals were tried and acquitted. Justice was even tempered with mercy. A proclamation of pardon was offered to the insurgent Royalists, if they laid down their arms

within a month, in their respective communes. Commissioners were appointed to visit the various departments in a state of rebellion, for the purpose of effectuating the objects of the proclamation, and the policy of conciliatory measures was strongly marked by the most promising consequences.

The influence of this policy was not merely beneficial in the interior, it extended itself beyond the territories of France, and the Convention daily received accounts of the aid it afforded to the French armies in their progress. The Flemish and German cities opened their gates to those who conquered in the name of the Republic to extend the blessings of liberty, and whose victories were intended to promote the union of all nations, in one common sentiment of freedom and happiness. The subjects of those governments which were at war with the Republic rejoiced in the downfal of the horrible system of revolutionary tyranny that had enslaved France; for although its armies had *conquered*, during that sanguinary period, yet not a city or a town belonging to the Allies, which possessed the means of defence, had surrendered without being reduced to the last extremity. The extension of dominion, which had been encouraged with so much zeal by each party that had ruled, had never been abandoned, and the milder disposition of the party which now prevailed favoured the project. The people, whom they must, under Robespierre, have forced, as conquerors, now courted their approach, and hailed them as their deliverers and their bretheren.

In the month of October a resolution was adopted by the states of Friesland, to acknowledge the Republic of France, to discontinue their former connection with Great Britain, and sign a treaty of peace and alliance with the Convention. In other provinces also, many bold resolutions were passed, clearly inimical to the perpetuity of the Stadtholder's government. Republican sentiments began to shew themselves so unequivocally, even in

Amesterdam, that the government of Holland, on the 17th, positively prohibited all popular discussions on political subjects, and the presenting of petitions or memorials on any pretext whatever. Soon after this Manifesto, the Stadholder went to Amesterdam, in disguise, in order to ascertain, with precision, the true state of the public mind. The situation of the Prince of Orange was highly distressing. He had published many animated addresses to the people, but he was unabled to inspire them with a spirit of resistance. The Anti-stadtholderian party were willing to subject the country to a foreign government rather than to join in any measure to secure its independence.

A spirited petition was drawn up, by many respectable citizens of Amsterdam, and presented to the magistrates in the beginning of November. It complained of the unexpected appearance of the hereditary Prince of Orange and the Duke of York in that city, which, the petitioners affirmed, could have no other object in view than to operate as a check on the deliberations of their High Mightinesses, to presuade them to receive British troops, and to agree to a grand inundation, by opening the sluices. The petition reprobated such measures; if, therefore, they were not desirous of receiving the French, they by no means were inclined to prevent the subjugation of Holland by the only methods that could be effectually adopted with that view. The petition was successful; the magistrates would not venture to attempt the inundation, and several of the petitioners, who had been arrested, were released from prison in triumph.

Military operations were in a state of torpor during the month of November; for, though the Republicans did not advance with their wonted rapidity, the Combined Powers found it extremely difficult to act upon the defensive. Vast numbers of them were cut off by inveterate desease, while the hospitals were distitute of medical assistance and situable medicines. The military were

destitute of clothing and shoes, and the rapid changes of the weather, at this calamitous period, occasioned a putrid fever, which made the most terrible devastation. While the position of the British forces was at Arnheim, 20 or 30 men were buried in a day; and few who were conveyed to the hospital, ever returned from it, but to be numbered with the dead.

The Republicans, on the 7th of December made an ineffectual attempt to cross the Waal, from Nimeguen, upon four rafts, two of which were sent to the bottom by the British troops, another drove towards that side which was occupied by the Dutch, and the fourth got back in safety. Four days afterwards, they tried the passage of the river above Nimeguen, both in boats and on rafts, to the amount of 5,000 men, 200 of whom surprised an Hanoverian piquet, stationed at Panneren, took possession of a battery, spiked three pieces of cannon, and threw another into the river, without losing a single man. But another detachment of French troops, was permitted by the Austrians to reach the middle of the river Emmerick, when they opened upon the boats a dreadful fire from their batteries, by which they drowned the greater part of the troops. On the 15th, however, the French were seconded by the setting in of a most intense frost, which rendered both the Meuse and the Waal passable on foot, in the space of a week; and the adventurous Generals of the French Republic marched a strong column across the Meuse on the 27th, near the village of Driel. The right wing, which extended from Nimeguen to fort St André, was destined to keep a watchful eye on the movements of the Combined Powers, and the centre took possession of the Bommel Waert and Langstraal, while the left wing succeeded in forcing the lines of Breda. The fruits of this single day were 120 pieces of artillery, 1,600 prisoners, two stands of colours, and 300 horses.

The Dutch, being unable to retain the possession of

Bommel, endeavoured to cross the Waal; but the Republicans overtook and defeated them. The ice over the Waal was so prodigiously strengthened, that heavy artillery could be conveyed across it with ease and safety. The Republicans, therefore, instantly proceeded to take possession of the Tieler Wært, between the Waal and the Leck. The Allies, alarmed for the safety of Culenberg and Gorcum, selected the following troops: 10 battallions of British infanty divided into brigades, six squadrons of light cavalry, and 150 hussars of Rohan, and gave the chief command to Major-general David Dundas; with these, amounting in all to about 6,500 infantry, exclusive of 1,000 cavalry, the Allies drove the French from Wardenberg on the 30th, and immediately proceeded towards Thuyl, which post they attacked with dreadful impetuosity, and, notwithstanding it was defended by the batteries of Bommel, whereby the approach to it was flanked, with a considerable number of men who had been stationed for its immediate defence, the British forces carried it at the point of the bayonet, and obliged the French to retreat across the river, with the loss of four pieces of cannon, and a considerable number of men. A strong reinforcement of Austrian troops, induced the Allies to try their strength with the Republican army. But General Pichegru opposed to them too formidable a force for the successful accomplishment of their views, and all their reinforcements were inadequate to ensure to them the victory.

On the 6th of December the Duke of York quitted the command of the British army, and returned to London, which evinced that the Court of St. James's considered the conquest of Holland by the French as unavoidable. While the Duke of York retained the chief command, the army was in a miserable condition, and it was not to be expected that its situation would be bettered, when under the command of a foreigner (General Walmoden). Patriotic subscriptions were entered into in England, to supply the army with flannel vests, and other necessaries,

essential to such a damp situation as they were in; but, many of the soldiers are said never to have received any benefit therefrom. The melancholy situation of the sick and wounded became hopeless and appalling; and it was proverbial through the army, on a man being conveyed to the hospital, "that he was sent to the shambles."

The sickness of the soldiers increased daily with the extreme severity of the weather; and the total inattention to their comforts and convenience rendered their situation pitiable in the extreme. Invalids were constantly sent to the general hospital at Rhenen, without any previous orders having been issued to prepare for their reception, so that no proper accommodations could possibly be provided for them. They were usually conveyed in bylanders (a small kind of vessel) down the Rhine from Arnheim, without even a sufficient supply of provisions; and it is a notorious fact, that, at one time, above 500 miserable objects were embarked, with only a single hospital mate to attend them, with scarcely any covering, and with a very scanty allowance of straw! An eye-witness of these heart-rending scenes exhibited at Rhenen, one morning, counted forty-two dead bodies, on the banks of the river, of men who had perished on board the bylanders, where they had been left, because, as he was told repeatedly, there were no quarters for them in the town!

THE END OF CHAP. XXVI.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Retreat of the Combined Forces from the Low Countries....The French advance rapidly, under General Pichegru, and take Utrecht....The Stadtholder and his Family quit Holland....The French take Possession of Amsterdam, Leyden, Harlæm, Flushing, Middleburg, Breda, and all the principal Towns in Holland....Their Requisition of Supplies....Regulations of the new Dutch Government.... The British Army suffers dreadful distress in its Retreat.... Proceedings of the French Army on the Rhine....Progress of the French Arms in Spain....Carnot's Estimate of the French Victories....Action between the Blanche and La Pique Frigates....Partial Engagement between the Fleet under Admiral Hotham and a French Fleet....Admiral Cornwallis chased by a French Fleet, which is afterwards engaged by Lord Bridport, and beaten.

THE Duke of York having quitted the British army, and the army itself having retired as the Republicans advanced, the Allies called a council of war on the 4th of January, 1795, at which it was determined to desert their positions on the river Waal. They hastily spiked all the heavy cannon which they could not remove, and destroyed vast quantities of ammunition. On the 8th, however, a skirmish took place between the troops under General Dundas, and, during the course of the day, the British and French repulsed each other no less than four times.

General Pichegru, on the 10th, crossed the Waal at different places, with 70,000 men, and attacked the position, which was occupied by General Walmoden, between Nimeguen and Arnheim. The Allies were everywhere defeated. Equally unprepared for effectual resistance, or for flight, they were under the necessity of taking shelter in open sheds, or in the open air, at this inclement season,

and in their retreat vast numbers of men, women, and children, were frozen to death. The French took possession of Utrecht without opposition, for the troops in the pay of Great Britain, had deemed it prudent to retire, by the way of Amersfort to Zutphen. Rotterdam surrendered on the 18th, and Dort followed the example on the succeeding day.

The rapid advances of the French, when announced at the Hague, excited consternation and dismay. The Princess of Orange, with the younger female branches of the family, escaped on the 15th, with the plate, jewels and whatever other things of value they could possibly carry off. The Stadtholder, and the hereditary Prince of Orange, did not depart from Holland till the 19th, the very day on which Dort surrendered to General Pichegru. His Serene Highness went into an open boat at Scheveling, having only three men on board with him who were acquainted with rowing, but he had, nevertheless, the good fortune to arrive at Harwich on the 21st, in safety. The Stadtholder did not quit the Hague without much difficulty and opposition; for the French party insisted that he should be made responsible for all the calamities and troubles of the country. He was solely indebted to the invincible fidelity of his horse body guards, and a regiment of Swiss, for his escape: they fired upon the populace, and his flight was secured at the expense of the lives of some of the most forward patriots.

Dr. Kraayenhoff, who had been sent into banishment for his Anti-stadtholderian sentiments, arrived at Amsterdam on the 17th of January, with a letter from the Republican Commander in Chief, in order that the people might be prepared for the reception of the French army; and on the 19th, that valuable city was taken possession of by no more than 30 hussars. In every spacious square belonging to the town, the French planted the tree of liberty without delay, and decorated the hats of the Dutchmen with the three-coloured cockade. The supineness of

the common people was on this occasion supprising. They were content that the Anti-stadtholderian party, which was composed of those ambitious men, who have since filled some of the chief officers of magistracy under the French, should manage the country as they pleased. The inhabitants stood at the doors of their houses when the hussars galloped through the city, as unconcerned as though they had been native troops; they smoked their pipes with as much *sang froid*, and retired to their beds, and arose in the morning with as much composure, as though no unusual event had taken place. The Dutch Republicans established a revolutionary tribunal, or committee, composed chiefly of those persons whom the old government had cast into prison on account of their petition in favour of peace, and for execrating the project of an inundation. On the the 20th General Pichegru made his triumphant entrance into Amsterdam, at the head of 5,000 men. A proclamation had been issued the day before by the Revolutionary Committee, declaring to all the world, "that the United Provinces were free and independent!" it recommended the choice of a new magistracy, consisting of several persons that it named, among whom were M. Schimmelpinninck, and they were accordingly chosen provisional representatives of the different states.

The surrender of Amsterdam to the French was instantaneously followed by Leyden and Harlaem. On the 30th of January, the French likewise took possession of Flushing, Middleburgh, and the Island of Walcheren. By positive order from the states, Breda and Williamstadt opened their gates to the Republicans, by whom they were besieged.

Bergen-op-Zoom was garrisoned by 4,000 men, in which was included the 87th regiment belonging to Great Britain; but the proclamation of the States-General, which ordered every garrisoned town to submit to the

French, in consequence of the Stadtholder's abdication, produced its immediate capitulation; the Governor, however, requested that the British regiment might be permitted to return home. With this, the French General refused to comply, and they were detained prisoners of war. The entire province of Zealand, shortly after submitted to General Michaud.

During the period in which these events occurred the French Generals requested a large supply of provisions and clothing for the soldiers, and the French Republic pledged itself for the punctual payment of the value. A proclamation, by the States-General at the Hague, declared that the requisition was not made in the language of a conqueror, but that of an ally. It was by the prudence, the wisdom, and the humanity of General Pichegru, that these changes in Holland were effected with so much peace, order, and tranquillity. The French entered the city of Amsterdam in small divisions; and the whole way from the river Waal to that city was covered with officers and men, who had more the appearance of travellers than that of warriors.

The Dutch, themselves, from their systematical caution and prudence, made every preparation for their approaching subjugation. The magistrates, who had acted under the old government, were permitted to resign without being either impeached or punished, for the people were too keenly occupied with their more immediate concerns, to give way to a spirit of revenge. The municipality of almost every city and town of any importance, had undergone a radical change of its internal government and police before the arrival of the Republicans; and messengers were dispatched to the French, in order to procure the most favourable conditions or terms of surrender. The people of property volunteered their services to prevent tumult or insurrection, but the phlegmatic dispositions of the people in general rendered such a precaution unnecessary. It must, therefore, have been

wholly owing to a want of discipline, and good order in the conquering army if riot or confusion had ensued.

The provisional representatives of Holland met on the 27th of January; Pierre Paulus, their president, delivered a speech upon the occasion, wherein he considered the sudden frost, by which the French were enabled to enter Holland, as a manifest interposition of Providence. At this sitting, the sovereignty of the Dutch people was decreed, and the rights of man declared; the Stadtholdership, and the offices of Admiral and Captain-general of the United Provinces, with all their appendages, were abolished; all the citizens and inhabitants of Holland were released from their oaths to the old constitution; the ancient authorities were suppressed, and committees of public safety, military affairs, and finance established; the right of shooting on his own property was restored to every individual; the taxes hitherto levied were provisionally continued, but measures were afterwards to be adopted for *diminishing* them, and for placing such as remained on a more equal footing. A courier was dispatched to Paris, for orders to set aside the authority of the States-General, and an inquiry was made into the bank of Amsterdam, and it was found that the debt and credit would balance each other.

Whilst these changes were effected the British army was closely pursued by the Republican army, consisting of more than 30,000 men. General Abercrombie undoubtedly conducted the retreat with humanity and vigilance, but his troops were in a most wretched condition, and in want of almost every thing they should have possessed. The occasional thaws retarded his progress, and rendered his situation still more deplorable, for his half-famished troops were frequently obliged to wade through mire and water that reached nearly to their knapsacks. Vast numbers of the sick were left behind in their route; and it is supposed that from 13,000 men, of which the

army consisted at the commencement of the retreat it was reduced to one half that number in the beginning of February. In the march from Amersfort, 300 men were frozen to death, exclusive of great numbers of women and children. It required 160 waggons to remove the sick, and there were 1,600 wretched beings accompanied the flying army. Many, who were so cut and mangled as to be incapable of being removed, were left behind. At length, on the 12th of February, the army crossed the Emms at Rheine, and were enabled to prosecute their march without interruption till the 24th of the month, at which time the posts of Nienhuys and Velthuys principally defended by Emigrants, were forced by the Republicans. The division of the British army, under the command of lord Cathcart (who had taken a more westerly route) was doomed to suffer much greater hardships, his rear being continually harrassed by the advanced parties of the Republicans. He everywhere experienced losses and disappointments, from the unpopularity of the Orange interest. The remains of the British army arrived at Bremen on the 27th and 28th of March, and continued there till the 10th of April, when they embarked for England.

During the progress of these events in the Low Countries the campaign on the Rhine exhibited nothing very brilliant. The Republican troops remained a considerable time in a state of torpor and inactivity; they, however, collected, in the neighbourhood of Mentz, a prodigious quantity of heavy artillery, and took Fort du Rhin, which protected Manheim. The surrender of Manheim, which was in a flourishing condition, saved it from the destructive horrors of a bombardment. The troops, which had been engaged at Fort du Rhin, were marched to reinforce those before Mentz; but a regular siege did not commence till the ensuing summer.

In the mean time, the French penetrated into the North-east part of the Bishoprick of Munster, and, after

a fierce and terrible engagement, they made themselves masters of Bentheim. On the 31st March they defeated the Austrians with great loss, and stationed themselves at Binen. From this period the Combined Powers seem to have lost all their spirit and energy, whilst the intrepidity and success of the French were unlimited.

In Spain, the Republican army was equally victorious, meeting with few other obstacles than the bad roads, and the dreadful mountains, over which the Generals had to march their forces. The French deemed the port of Rosas, in Catalonia, an object of the utmost importance; but, prior to the reduction of this port, it was absolutely necessary to become masters of Fort Bouton, by which the bay was commanded, and the naval force checked; an object which the Republicans accomplished with the utmost valour and intrepidity. The uncommon floods, which the melting of the snow had occasioned, increased by incessant rains, retarded the operations of the besiegers, and they were obliged to continue inactive for the space of twenty-three days. Finding it impossible to open the second parallel, the Republicans erected a strong battery on the 30th of December, which mounted eighteen pieces of cannon, each 24-pounders, and on the 3d of January they commenced their attack upon the city. On the first shot being fired, the volunteers requested permission to mount the walls, which already appeared to be damaged, and the garrison embarked during the darkness of the night, leaving no more than 540 men for the defence of the city, who instantly surrendered. On the 5th of May, 3,000 Spaniards having made their appearance on the side of Sistellia, and discovered an intention to surround the Republicans, were totally routed with very great slaughter.

About this time, Carnot, a member of the Committee of Public Safety, gave in the following list of victories to the Convention, all of which were achieved in 17 months:

Victories, including eight pitched battles	27
Actions of less note	120
Killed of the enemy	80,000
Prisoners	91,000
Strong places and cities taken . . .	116
By siege or blockade	36
Forts and redoubts	230
Cannon	3,800
Muskets	70,000
Powder . . . . . lbs.	1,900,000
Pairs of colours	90

This splendid list was ordered by the Convention to be printed, hung up in the hall, and transmitted to all the armies of the Republic, as a stimulus to future exertions. The account is very highly exaggerated, but the progress of the French arms during this *period* was surprising and overwhelming. To estimate the advantages resulting to France from these astonishing conquests is almost impossible. They found in Ostend alone stores and granaries to the amount of 10,000,000, and 25,000,000 in specie were imposed upon the Belgic provinces. The Republican troops were enabled to subsist for the space of eight months on what was procured from the conquered countries; and their future subsistence was secured by what the United Provinces were bound to furnish them with. But if France was victorious by land, she was not so by sea. The destruction of the French shipping at Toulon was an irreparable loss, not merely on account of the vessels, but the seamen, whom it was impossible to replace; and the tyranny of Robespierre had a most powerful tendency to weaken the marine force of the Republic.

In the preceding and present year, 1795, the French effected nothing brilliant by sea. Several frigates were captured by the British during this year, some of them surrendering without the smallest opposition, while others

made the most desperate resistance. On the 4th of January, in particular, an engagement took place, off Martinique, between the British frigate Blanche, of 32 guns, and La Pique of 34, which lasted without intermission for the space of five hours. The French frigate had her mast carried overboard during the action, in which 30 men perished, besides 76 killed, and 110 wounded. The loss on the part of the British frigate, was eight men killed, including Captain Falkner, and 12 wounded.

On the 14th of March an interesting action was fought in the Mediterranean, between a British fleet, under the command of Admiral Hotham, consisting of 14 sail of the line, and three frigates, and a Republican fleet of 15 sail of the line, and three frigates. On the 12th, the hostile fleets had come in sight of each other, when Admiral Hotham made a signal for a general chace the next day, when one of the French line-of-battle ships was seen wanting her topmasts, a circumstance of which the Inconstant availed herself, and began to attack, rake, and harass her dreadfully, till the Agamemnon came up, when the French ship was very much damaged, and completely disabled. But as the British vessels were at a great distance from their own fleet, they were obliged to leave her, when they perceived more of the enemy's ships coming to her assistance.

Admiral Hotham, on the morning of the 14th, discovered the disabled ship, towed by another, to be so far to leeward of their own fleet as to afford a strong probability that they might be cut off. For the accomplishment of this object nothing was left unattempted, and the French were reduced to the necessity of giving them up for lost, or of coming to a general engagement. The latter did not appear to be their wish, although they made a feeble attempt to support them; they were cut off by the Bedford and Captain, and immediately deserted by the main body of the fleet. The captured ships were the Ca-ira of 80 guns, and Censeur of 74. The English had

75 men killed, and 280 wounded: there are no accounts of the actual loss sustained by the French, but it was certainly greater. The Illustrious was so much disabled during the action, that she had to be taken in tow, but was afterwards separated during a heavy gale of wind, cast on shore, and lost near Auenza. The loss sustained by both fleets may be considered as on a par, since they both lost two ships of the line. One of the French ships, if not both of them, captured at this time, were stated in the London Gazette as being among the number which were destroyed at Toulon.

Admiral Cornwallis, when cruising off Belleisle with five ships of the line, and two frigates, fell in, on the 7th of June, with a fleet of merchant ships, under convoy of three ships of the line, and six frigates; and although the ships of war effected their escape, he had the good fortune to capture eight of the merchantmen, all richly laden with wine and military stores. But, on the 16th, while standing in with the land, near Penmarks, he received a signal from the Phæton, that an enemy's fleet was in sight, which they soon found to consist of 13 sail of the line, and two brigs, besides a cutter and several frigates; a force, which it would have been madness to attempt to face. At this critical period the wind shifted in favour of the enemy, so that, by nine o'clock the next morning, the ships, in front of the enemy's line, began to fire upon the Mars, who kept up a running fire the whole day, as well as the rest of the British fleet. Admiral Cornwallis effected his escape from this perilous situation by an excellent manœuvre,—he threw out signals expressive of a large fleet of British ships being at hand, on which account the French Admiral did not deem it prudent to pursue him, and he consequently escaped with very little loss.

This fleet, from which Admiral Cornwallis effected his escape in such a singular manner, was destined, on the 23d of the same month, to be attacked by Lord Bridport,

who commanded a fleet of 14 sail of the line and eight frigates, with superior metal to that of the enemy. On the 22d, about day-break, a signal was given by the Nymph and Astrea, that an enemy's fleet was in sight; but the British Admiral perceiving that they had no design to bring him to action, he hove out a signal for chasing the enemy with four of the swiftest sailing ships in the whole fleet, which they continued to do the whole day and the ensuing night, but there was so little wind to favour them, that they were almost becalmed. They came up with the Republican fleet on the morning of the 23d, when an action commenced at six o'clock, and continued, without intermission, till three in the afternoon, when the British Admiral got possession of the Alexander, (formerly belonging to England), the Formidable, and the Tigré. Being almost close in with the batteries on shore, his Lordship was not only unable to extend his conquest, but even found it attended with considerable difficulty to retain the possession of those he had already captured. The remaining part of the enemy's squadron got safe into l'Orient. The loss sustained by the British during this action, has been stated at 31 men killed, and 115 wounded; the loss on the part of the Republicans is unknown.

THE END OF CHAP. XXVII.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Convention allows Quarter to be given to the English Soldiers, &c....Anniversary of the Death of Louis XVI ....Peace with Tuscany....Principles of Negociation....Decree of Freedom of Worship....Barrere, &c. condemned to Deportation....Prussia negociates, and concludes a Peace with France....Spain, &c. also makes Peace....Fouquier Tinville, &c. tried and executed....Their horrible Cruelties ....Insurrections in Paris....Insurrection at Toulon....Death of the Dauphin....The Princess exchanged by the Convention, and sent to Germany....The Convention decree a new Constitution.

SANGUINARY and unjust measures against a rival, whose power it is impossible to destroy, are invariably impotent, and their consequences often recoil upon those by whom they are occasioned. Cruelty can never be exercised without fear of retaliation, but upon the weak. The disguised assassin may destroy a hero in the midst of his camp, and he may effect his escape in safety; he may murder the statesman in his chamber, and flight may prevent his detection; but he cannot complete either of these purposes, without the certainty of punishments, if he does not previously shroud himself from observation, and secure his retreat by secret means.—But if one individual openly persecute another, who is as strong as himself, and who stands well in the estimation of the world, he must be weak, as well as wicked, if he imagine that the public opinion will aid the destruction of his opponent; it will rise up against him at the judgment; he may hate, but he will only have the power to harass; he may vex, but he will himself experience vexation, and, ultimately, suffer disappointment: so if one of two countries in a state of open war, should adopt a barbarous species of

hostility, unsanctioned by the law of nations, and should prosecute an unusual inhuman warfare, the bad policy of such a vindictive spirit would be evinced by the measures of annoyance that the other power would be justified in taking in its own defence, and also by the execrations and protests of other governments against usages repugnant to the liberal principles which should actuate all civilised belligerent states.

It was some of these considerations which induced the French Convention, on the last day of the year 1794, to consider a decree which had been passed, that *no quarter* should be given to British, Hanoverian, and Spanish troops, and which consequently would not allow the French troops to accept the surrender of any soldiery of those nations, but consigned the individuals, who sued to the Republicans for mercy, to cold and deliberate butchery. The Convention had passed this decree in the full persuasion, that they should be able to exterminate, as well as subdue, their enemies; but, notwithstanding the exertions of the Commissioners, who were with the armies, the decree was approved by very few of the soldiers, its execution was partial, and it operated no extraordinary effect in favour of the Republican arms. The same Convention, therefore, in which this decree originated, and by whom it was unanimously declared a law, finding that, as they had no means of compelling it to be enforced, they profited nothing from its standing on their records, took advantage of its fallacy to regain their credit for humanity, by repealing it. Some of the members made long and very animated speeches on the occasion, and the repeal of the law was decreed amid as loud and as general plaudits as it had passed.

On the 21st January, 1795, the anniversary of the death of the King, was celebrated by a festival in the Thuilleries. A scaffold was erected before the great basin, bearing the statue of Liberty: the President of the Convention pronounced a speech; the populace ex-

claimed, "*Vive la République! Vive la Convention!*" a general discharge of artillery concluded the ceremony, and the cold being excessively severe, all the people went home. At night the theatres were open gratis; an effigy was burnt in the yard of the Jacobins, intended to represent tyranny and royalism: it was previously brought to the door of the Convention, to make an *amende honorable* to the people, and its ashes were gathered in a *pot de chambre*, and deposited in the common sewer, amid the most extravagant applauses of the mob.

The month of February produced an event of the greatest importance to the interest of France, and no less fatal to that of the Combined Powers; for on the 10th it was announced to the Convention, that the Committee of Public Safety had concluded a treaty of peace with the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Three days after, the Convention entered on a discussion of the merits of this treaty, when some members of the violent Mountain party disputed the competency of the Committee to negociate a peace without the consent of the Convention; but it was at length determined, that everything which tended to obstruct the establishment of peace was highly impolitic, and repugnant to the prosperity of the nation. The competency of the Committee was acknowledged almost unanimously, and the Treaty itself was ratified amidst the thundering plaudits of the members and spectators.

Its the principles laid down by the Republic upon this occasion, brought into question the charges and insinuations of Mr. Burke, and other Antigallicans of that time, and induced many states to rely upon the honour and good faith of the Republic; we shall lay before our readers the sentiment delivered by the government upon the subject.

REPORT

of CAMBACERES *to the* CONVENTION, *respecting* PEACE *with Foreign Powers.*

"Representatives of the People,

"IT is at the moment when circumstances may give a great activity to our foreign relations, that it is important to manifest your intentions upon this part of government. You have invested your Committee of Public Safety with the direction of political operations: it now comes to you to demand that no uncertainty may subsist, with respect either to the extent or the limits of their powers. The French revolution, sustained by so many triumphs, has given a general impulse to Europe towards liberty—towards the annihilation of the shackles which prolonged the infamy of nations, and towards the improvement of the human mind. From this time it is necessary, that the peaceable and uniform progress of light, and the example of our happiness, should complete a work begun in the midst of storms. If the shocks of thunder, and the struggle of the elements, pacify the air, and disengage the fecundating parts, it is only by the soft heat of the sun, and under the influence of a calm and serene sky, that the seeds confided to the bosom of the earth can be ripened.—Peace is the end of war: so many wars have been entered into through caprice, and continued to promote private interest, that governments have given to their subjects the full measure of their tyranny, and their perversity. It is ambition which makes kings arm; it is justice which arms the people: and where is the people, who, having dispatched the league of their enemies, overthrown their projects, and confounded their ambition, would refuse the most flattering of all glories, that of giving peace to the world, after having conquered it? The Republic, triumphant, prepared to fly to new triumphs, is desirous of peace; she wishes an universal peace, and

such a one as would for ever assure the repose of the world. But, if you cast your eyes upon Europe, the view will shew you, that the glorious task of the defenders of their country is not yet completed. There still are governments whom so many defeats and losses have not made ripe for repentance, and whose pride would prefer the being buried in ruin rather than the doing homage to justice and equity. England has not ceased to aspire to the dominion of the seas; Austria and Russia conspire together to grasp at the whole dominion of continent; their hopes destroyed in the South, are turned against the North of Europe; they think to cure their own evils, by rendering them contagious to the whole universe; in the midst of a general confusion they think to establish their dominion, or indemnify themselves for their losses. Around these powers are grouped the other states of Europe, enslaved by seduction, or paralytic with terror; involuntary or blind enemies of a republic, whose existence gurarantees their preservation; some applaud themselves in a neutrality, wise in its principle, but become insufficient against the efforts of our enemies. In the midst of these, the French nation rises as the center of all the affections and all the enmities, ready to put a glorious period to a just and terrible war, the fate of which is decided by the courage of the French, and by the destiny of human kind.

"Citizens, what remains for us to do? Whilst our republican phalanxes are preparing for new victories against enemies irreconcilable, or not reconciled to us, we ought to present to Europe the exposition of our principles, and a pledge of our wisdom, to collect around us those governments who have not joined in an impious coalition, and generously receive in our arms those states who have broken the fetters of the league. In this state of affairs, the question is not to discuss the mode of pacification; that is already indicated to us by the force of events. One negociation for a general peace is impossi-

ble; while we still are contending with enemies, depressed but haughty, weakened but enraged, nothing could insure to us the duration or solidity of such a treaty; we should not find a guarantee for such a peace either in the will or in the weakness of our enemies. In the midst of so many negociators, we being alone and against all, should be always obliged to aim at dividing them. From hence the chimera of an universial peace is seen; the impossibility of bringing to an agreement so many powers, whose projects and views are so opposite; it is therefore only by peace with individuals that we can arrive at a general peace. We do not contend for some wretched quarrels of ministers, for some ridiculous pretensions of rivalry, for the usurpation of some titles and distant possessions; these, and such like objects, appear little worthy of the duties which the destinies impose on the French Republic.

"Whilst all the principles of natural right have been contested—whilst the foundations of all political society have been shaken by tyrannical pretensions—whilst a whole nation has been obliged to take arms against invasion, treason, famine, civil war, the division of its territory, the annihilation of its existence—ought without doubt, to assert its rights, and make use of its power, that they may be for ever respected. If there existed in Europe a right of nations, of acknowledged principles of independence, a freedom of trade and navigation—if there existed a plan against the ambition of usurping powers, then the conditions of peace would be easily dictated and accepted—then we should have no war to maintain; but the necessity of insuring the repose of Europe, and of preserving you from the future evils meditated by your enemies, dictate measures adapted for the attainment of the end you desire. Here we ought, perhaps, to fix our attention upon those countries which conquest has put into our hands, if the questions you will have to decide upon this important subject did not re-

quire an extensive discussion, and to be the object of a seperate report. The Republic has natural boundaries in the Alps and Pyrenees, in the two seas, and a free country which has been our ally for ages. Towards the North it is contiguous to possessions, the demarcation of which, and the jealousy of governments, have caused ages of war; it is on this side that Austria has pretended to take possession of the ci-devant Lorain; that England has coveted the port of Dunkirk; and that the navigation of the Scheldt has served as a pretext for its hostile explosions. It is in these countries, now subjects to our arms, that a great number of rivers, after having quitted our departments, take their course towards the sea, and invite you to confide to them the productions of your soil and industry. You will examine whether the councils of nature and the experience of ages do not require you to trace, with a steady hand, the boundaries of the French Republic; whether the execution of this great design ought not to be the basis and real guarantee of universal peace. However this be, it is necessary that Europe should know that you are not directed by views of aggrandizement, but by the sentiment of repose; that you are not ambitious of a few hundred square leagues, by that desire of conquest which may govern a despot, or an aristocracy concentrated in a senate; and that having taken arms for independence, you are not to quit them till you have insured its duration by all the means which nature presents to you.

"You see citizens, from the explanation of the views we have pointed out, the greatness of the obligations you have imposed upon the Committee of Public Safety, in charging them with the direction of foreign relations. Impressed with a sense of our duties, we have experienced some difficulties and foreseen others, which it is for your wisdom to remove.

"It would seem at first, that the Committee of Public Safety, charged by the decree of 7th Fructidor (24th

August) with the direction of political operations, is sufficiently authorized to sign, in your name, and without your ratification, all diplomatic treaties—to take all the preliminary measures—to agree upon all the conditions—and that they ought only to present to your consideration treaties, which, to be definitive, required your assent. The mode adopted at the time of confirming the treaty concluded with Tuscany justified this opinion, and seemed to trace out the line of our duty for the future.

"In fact, citizens, you felt that it was impossible to treat with the plenipotentiaries of foreign governments in the body of the national representation, and that thence was derived the necessity of delegating the power to negociate and settle the conditions of peace. You felt that there was no danger in this delegation, because the power to negociate, supposing a superior power to approve, modify, or reject the treaties agreed upon, the refusal of your assent annuls them in fact and right: You felt that if peace and war, acts of the sovereign, could not be resolved upon but by the power to which the people have confided the exercise of their sovereignty, the interest of the people required that the most efficacious means for the success of the war should be given to a committee organized in your bosom; and that all the obstacles to peace should be removed by secresy and dispatch. It is after being impressed with these principles—by reflecting on the embarrassments which almost always retard the progress of negociations—on the provisional engagements they may require—on the reserve and celerity which insure their success—that important doubts have occurred to our minds, and that we have felt the necessity of submitting the solution of them to your wisdom.

"Definitive treaties are sometimes preceded by preliminary conventions, which being limited to determined objects, have for their end accelerating the negociations. These conventions may be looked upon as real

treaties; but considering that they are limited, both with respect to their duration and their object, and that they prejudge nothing on the main question, they can only be classed among the means employed for arriving at a definitive treaty.

"As an example, we may cite to you armistices, neutralizations of some city or territory. These provisional stipulations participate more or less of the nature of military conventions, the conclusion of which are often within the competence of generals. They are determined by localities, by the circumstances of the moment, and must be followed up with prompt execution.

"In authorizing the Committee of Public Safety to negociate and draw up treaties, it was also your intention to authorize them to take all the measures that may prepare and facilitate them; and if we come to ask you for an explanation with respect to the preliminary conventions I have just mentioned, it is because the smallest doubt on the extent of our powers is sufficient to make us have recourse to your authority.

"There is another difficulty, the solution of which requires a new measure. Definitive treaties are often accompanied with certain particular stipulations, for which the seal of your authority appears necessary, and which, nevertheless, it would be impossible to execute if they were known. How present for your ratification, treaties or articles which cannot be submitted to public view? And how execute them without the expression of your will, without which they are not complete? We will explain our ideas by some examples.

"Let us suppose that the Republic, in consideration of services rendered, or in stipulation for services to be rendered, grants to a power any sum, either as an indemnification for the past, or as a subsidy for the future; the position of this power may be such, that all the utility of such a treaty would be destroyed by its being prematurely made public.

"Let us suppose again, that by virtue of this treaty, a squadron was to join the naval forces of the Republic, and to be received into our ports; it is again clear, that making it public might give to the enemy the means of opposing insurmountable obstacles to the arrival of the squadron.

"Finally, let us suppose that the business were to bring some states friendly or neutral, to a system more active or more extended, or to make a treaty for effecting a diversion; and you will see that in all these cases there may be occasion for stipulations, of which the advantage would disappear with the secrecy.

"We add, citizens, that the timidity of some governments, or their diplomatic habits, may determine them to insist upon precautions that might appear useless to you, who, to a sense of your greatness and power, join that character of candour and openness which loves to have the whole world the witness of its actions and designs. You will shew some indulgence for the diplomatic system of Europe; accustomed to the false light of cabinets, its weak eyes dread the day, and we must not expose it to the noon-tide beam of publicity, but by degrees, and as it gathers strength. You will consider the circumstances in which you are; these command you to employ and to authorize the most extensive means of acting—means more powerful and more rapid than in the ordinary state of things.

"Is it said that such transactions must be banished? We answer, that to wish to insulate France in the politics of Europe, which she is called to direct and to reform, is to misconceive her destiny; that her action ought to have no bounds but those which justice and humanity prescribe; that to maintain the contrary, is to attempt destroying foreign connections, to perpetuate war, and reduce the whole diplomatic system to the law of the strongest.

"It is not only to render homage to principles, but to

give to our political operations the necessary latitude, quickness, and solidity; that we must find the means of putting the Committee of Public Safety in a situation to profit of all the advantages which circumstances and events present, while at the same time the National Convention shall preserve the exercise of those powers which it neither can or ought to delegate.

"When the English ministry infringe an existing law, or trench on the rights of parliament, they obtain an act of indemnity, that is to say, a subsequent approbation, which saves the responsibility of ministers. You will not take for a rule the proceedings of the English parliament. The formality of an act of indemnity would not leave in all their integrity the powers of which the people have made you the depositories, and it would not accord with the candour and the delicacy of those among you who are placed in the Committee of Public Safety. Means more simple present themselves. When employed upon acts which must indispensibly be submitted to your ratification, but which it is of importance to keep secret for a time, the Committee will announce that there is occasion for a political operation which cannot yet be made public, but which requires your approbation. Then twelve commissioners shall be nominated, who, after having deliberated in common with the Committee of Public Safety, shall report to the National Convention on the two following questions.

"Is the operation proposed conformable to the principles decreed by the Convention, and to the interests of the Republic?

"Ought the operation to be kept secret?

"If these two questions are decided in the affirmative, the Convention shall authorize the Committee of Public Safety to follow up the operation; and, by the advice of the commissioners, may fix a period at which a public account shall be given of the negociation, and the measures connected with it.

"Such, citizens, is the expedient we propose to you with respect to acts which must necessarily be submitted to you by the National Convention, but which it is of consequence to keep secret till the proper time.

"It remains for us to say a word upon a difficulty of form which will frequently occur in the course of negociations, and which it is therefore necessary to clear up.

"The Committee of Public Safety receive in your name such diplomatic propositions as may be made to them; they negociate in virtue of the powers you have delegated to them, and afterwards present their work for your decision; But will they pursue the same course when the Republic shall treat by the organ of a minister plenipotentiary, authorized to negociate, conclude, and sign treaties, according to the orders, instructions, and approbation of the Committee of Public Safety? Reason and diplomatic usage induce us to think that the signature of this nature, and that they ought not to appear in your approbation as soon as they are signed by the plenipotentiaries.

"We have laid before you, citizens, our several grounds of doubt, and pointed out what appears to us the proper means of removing them. Your wisdom will examine them, and you will decide whether or not they bear the character you wish to give to the diplomatic transactions of the Republic. Prescribe to the Committee of Public Safety the course they ought to follow; adopt a mode according to which principles may be respected, convenience observed, and foreign governments induced to open the negociations they wish.

"It has been said, that it is more laborious, more difficult, to govern than to conquer; may we not add, that there are almost as many difficulties in negociations? When we reflect on the scruples, on the fears which environ them, on the obstacles which cross or slacken the progress of treaties, and which have so often retarded the peace of

Europe, we shall not hesitate to acknowledge, that the negociator stands in need of being directed and supported in the career which opens before him.

" It is a truth confirmed by reason and experience; it will determine you to give to the agents you shall choose, your entire confidence, because you feel, as well as they, the importance of their functions.

" Citizens, if it were allowable to speak of ourselves, when we are discussing the grand interest of our country, we would tell you, that the weight of an uncertain responsibility is every instant disturbing delicacy, disquieting conscience, and stopping the most important operations by banishing security; we would tell you, that men cannot be attentive to their duties, and tormented with doubts at the same time; and that after having laid our doubts before you, we expect a decision which may be the rule for the present, and the law for the future."

The Convention, decreed as follows:

I. The Committee of Public Safety, charged with the direction of foreign relations, negociates, in the name of the Republic, treaties of peace, truce, alliance, neutrality and commerce. It agrees upon the conditions of them.

II. It takes all the necessary measures for facilitating and accelerating the conclusion of such treaties.

III. It is authorized to make preliminary and particular stipulations, such as those of armistice and neutralizations, relative thereto, during the time of negociation and secret conventions.

IV. The secret engagements contracted with foreign governments, can have only for their object assuring the defence of the Republic, or augmenting its means of prosperity.

V. In case of treaties containing secret articles, the dispositions of such articles can neither be contrary to, nor derogate from the open articles.

VI. Treaties are signed, either by the members of the Committee, when they have treated directly with the envoys of foreign powers, or by the ministers plenipotentiary, to whom the Committee has delegated powers to that effect.

VII. Treaties are not voted till after they have been examined, ratified, and confirmed by the National Convention, upon a report from the Committee of Public Safety.

VIII. Nevertheless, conditions agreed upon in secret engagements, are to be executed as if they had been ratified.

IX. As soon as circumstances permit rendering public, political operations which have been the subject of secret conventions, the Committee of Public Safety gives an account to the National Convention of the object of the negociation, and of the measures it has taken.

In February, Boissy d'Anglas, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, &c. made a Philosophical report on the wisdom of giving religious liberty, and obtained this decree in the Convention—"Every form of worship may be exercised without molestation: the state allows no salary for the exercise of any worship, or dwelling for its minister: no external signs of worship shall be affixed in public places, or on the roads, or offered in any manner to the view of citizens. No inscription shall point out the place which is employed for the exercise of public worship."

Long and tedious debates agitated the Convention on the charges against Barrere, Collot d'Herbois, and Billaud Varennes, and they were, finally, adjudged to be deported to Guiana, in South America. About this period a disagreement, which had long subsisted between the Prussian and Austrian commanders, and also between their troops, arose to a great height, and was not a little increased, by a report, industriously circulated through Switzerland, by a Prussian agent, that the court of Berlin had actually concluded a treaty of peace with the French Republic. This report gained credit; and it was either so generally applauded, or so little censured, that a negociation was seriously opened at Basle, by three official agents from the King of Prussia, and afterwards by a plenipotentiary, publicly avowed as such, whom M. Barthelemy met at Basle.

The personage to whom the management of this important negociation was committed on the part of Prussia, was Baron Goltz, who had formerly been an ambassador at Paris, and whose diplomatic talents were very considerable. But, unfortunately, while the negociation was still pending, the Baron was seized with a distemper of such a violent nature, as terminated his existence in the space of a few days. Some time intervened between the death of Baron Goltz and the nomination of a successor; but the negociation does not appear to have been stopped on that account; for the principal secretary of the legation went to Paris, and, after different interviews with the Committee of Public Safety, he returned to Berlin. Everything led the Committee to believe, that the terms proposed as the basis of a definitive treaty, would be finally accepted. In such a state of forwardness was this business after the death of Baron Goltz, that his successor, M. Hardenberg, found little more to do, on his arrival at Basle, than to put his name to the treaty.

It is believed that this negociation would have been considerably retarded, if not totally broken off, had not the Committee of Public Safety consented to the admission of secret articles. After a warm discussion by both parties, the treaty was finally signed—a treaty advantageous to France, since that country obtained by it every thing it desired. To the King of Prussia it was not so favourable, since he thereby lost the opportunity of taking the lead in adjusting and arranging the affairs of the Continent. Whether the interest of the Combined Powers was still predominant in the court of Berlin, after the coalition was dissolved, or whatever occasioned the want of a decision on the part of Prussia, is undetermined, but it is certain, that the fortunate crisis was neglected, and that time was afforded to Austria and Britain to regain the ascendancy. Hesse Cassel, indeed made a treaty of peace; Saxony, and some other powers, withdrew their quota of troops from the assistance of the Allies, while

the Duke of Wirtemberg began a negociation; but, by the reverse of fortune, which the French experienced on the eastern side of the Rhine, every attempt to negociate was abandoned by all parties, except Hesse Cassel and Hanover.

The peace with Prussia, was almost immediately followed by a treaty of peace with the court of Madrid. Prussia having receded from the coalition, the troops of the French Republic were rapidly marching towards the very capital of the Spanish dominions, for which reason the Spanish cabinet deemed it necessary to order M. d'Yriarte to come to immediate terms with the enemy. With such astonishing dispatch was this business conducted, that a treaty of peace was concluded between M. d'Yriarte, and M. Barthelemy at Basle, before General Servan from the Committee of Public Safety, and M. d'Iranda from the court of Spain, had time to have a single interview at Bayonne, the place where they were appointed to meet. It was signed by M. Barthelemy and M. d'Yriarte, on the 22d of July; by virtue of which the French gave up all the conquests they had made on the territories of Spain, and restored all the cannon and ammunition they found in the conquered towns, cities, or garrisons; and Spain restored the cannon and ammunition, together with their possessions in the island of St. Domingo. The French Republic also consented that the King of Spain should become a mediator for Portugal, Sardinia, Naples, and the Duke of Parma, with all the other princes belonging to Italy. The Dutch Republic was likewise comprehended in the treaty, by which means a severe blow was aimed at the power of Great Britain in the West Indies, and its naval operations in the Mediterranean were much obstructed.

Switzerland preserved a neutrality during the various stages of the French Revolution, and the war consequent upon that memorable event; but many of the cantons

evinced a disposition by no means friendly to the Republican cause. Basle did not acknowledge France till the definitive treaty was signed between it and Prussia; for, from the 10th of August 1792, till that period, M. Barthelemy was only known in that country as a private individual. The chancellor of Basle, M. Och's, took an active part in bringing about an amicable reconciliation between France and Prussia, and in his house the treaty of peace with Spain was signed. The rapid progress with which the forces of the Republic proceeded from victory to victory had a powerful effect in changing the political sentiments of the Swiss cantons, many of which immediately expressed their attachment to the interest and views of France.

As the ratification of the treaties with Prussia and Spain were the first steps towards the consolidation of the power of revolutionized France, and the almost certain pledge of her being again admitted into the family of outraged Europe, upon conditions far from humiliating, it formed one of those extraordinary epochs which, in the affairs of nations, makes a whole people behold all political objects in a new light; and the imagination of the fabulist was no longer necessary to depict, by the aid of fiction, the inexpressible difference between the madness of the animal energies, acting under the impulse of desperation, and the serenity of mind which rests on the calm confidence of conscious security. The threats which had called the whole people to the Champ de Mars, had now spent themselves, and two of the greatest states of the world were become friends of the struggling Republic; it may not be uninteresting at this time of day, to go back a little into the national feeling upon the occasion,

In making the first overture to the French Minister, the Chancellor Ochs, President of the Secret Committee of the State of Basle, as mediator, in a highly conciliatory address, expressed himself to the following effect:

"There is a Switzerland wanting to France and a France to Switzerland. It was thus that one of the representatives of the French Republic expressed himself towards us; and it is to this principle, marked by the stamp of a sound policy, that the two nations are long indebted for a great part of their success and prosperity. How charming it is to present the olive branch of peace, when one's brow is girt with the laurel of victory! Moderation in the conqueror chains fortune to his car; and the strength of the enemy is less to be dreaded than the despair of the vanquished."

The following is the reply:

REPLY *of the* AMBASSADOR *of the* FRENCH REPUBLIC.

"*Magnificent Lords,*"

"I receive with so much the more gratitude and sensibility the expressions of sentiments you please to bestow upon me, as I have already the knowledge of your affectionate friendship in my behalf, the same as I hope you have, that of my desire of serving you, and my constant solicitude for your concerns. It will be still more animated, magnificent lords, through my stay in your town. The nearer I am to you, the more I will endeavour to draw upon you the attention of the French republic.

"Since I lived in your country, circumstances singularly difficult have circumvented the laudable Helvetic body; but the profound wisdom, which has characterised all its steps, has made them hitherto to surmount these very difficulties; and certainly by persevering in these principles, it will continue to enjoy the calm of peace, until the happy period which will restore it to the universe; and they will attain it under the blessings of the worthy people they govern, with the confidence and due consideration of the French nation, and of all Europe? and with the certainty that posterity will admire the behaviour they held in these critical times, and which so many means have been employed to make the cantons depart from the maxims which they inherited from their ancestors, the prudence of which is confirmed by the experience of ages.

"Your state will have so much the more right to share in this triumph, as it has not only shared with its co-allies all the dan-

gers of the present epoch, but that it has moreover been exposed to private uneasiness. It ought to be well assured of having acquired with them indelible claims on the continuance of the friendship of the French republic. I esteem myself very happy, magnificent lords, of being at this moment its organ with you, and of being able to transmit to the Committee of Public Welfare of the National Convention, the expressions of your confederal attachment, and the wishes you utter for the prosperity of the French people, who will always be your most faithful ally."

If this declaration of gratitude shewed how sensible the Republic was of the obligation it lay under to Switzerland, its demeanour towards its new friends was not less likely to persuade them of the sincerity and permanence of its friendship. The joy expressed for the peace with Spain, was evinced by bursts of rapture, which continued in the Convention for a whole hour; and the generosity of the Spanish and Prussian Monarchs were exaggerated with all the parade of enthusiastic zeal. It is a homely proverb which teaches that "a very little honey will catch a fly;" and the proud courts of Spain and Prussia seem to have been above profiting by so vulgar a species of education; for they suffered themselves to be decoyed by the allurements of French politeness, the one to make the most extravagant concessions, and the other to pay the most extravagant compliments that the most despotic of tyrants could have exacted. In abandoning the territory of St. Domingo, Spain evinced the most spaniel-like servility, and proved, by anticipation, that she would be coaxed out of anything, let her but have the name of peace; and the Prussians, not content with having deserted their allies, commenced a new farce of epistolary quackery—to vaunt of the *moderation* and justice of the French Republic with all the pompous zeal of new converts.

The PRUSSIAN GENERAL MOLLENDORFF *to* M. BASCHER, FRENCH COMMISSIONER *of* LEGATION.

Offenbruck, April 13.

" Sir,

" It is with true pleasure and satisfaction I take up the pen to congratulate you, from the bottom of my heart, upon the happy issue of your labours, and those of the Ambassador; in testimony of which, I request you to present my respects to him, and to assure him of my perfect and sincere esteem. The service you have done to both Governments, as well as to humanity, are of such importance as to lay every individual under obligation, much more myself, who have always been anxious for this conciliation.

" MOLLENDORFF."

In the same spirit is a letter from Prince Henry.

LETTER *from* PRINCE HENRY *of* PRUSSIA, *the* KING'S UNCLE, *to* M. BASCHER.

Berlin, April 14.

" Sir,

" The recollection you suggest of the year 1768, excites in my mind very pleasing sensations. It never occurred to me that I had laid you under any obligation. If I had done so, you could not have made me a more noble return than by your letter announcing the things dearest to my heart—Peace. May this peace become the object of happiness to the French Republic: may it, as I wish it may, strengthen the bonds of amity between all nations, but more especially between France and Prussia. Such are my prayers, and they proceed from the bottom of my heart. M. Barthelemy and you have given the first sanction to this peace, which will contribute to the public good; might I have it in my power to promote this end! But, if I have not the means, I shall always have the wish, accompanied with that of assuring you of the esteem with which I am, &c.

" PRINCE HENRY."

The King's declaration at the conclusion of the peace also states, that

"His Majesty has the satisfactory conviction to have contributed to the welfare of the German country, the security of its Constitution, and its tranquility: first, by an energetic exertion of a war of three campaigns, which seemed almost to surpass all physical possibility; and of having at last, by his patriotic care, opened a road for peace. His Majesty leaves to the enlightened opinions of his Co-States of the Empire, to obtain by this road the object of their long continued contest, namely, tranquillity and security; and that they may, for this purpose, take advantage of the offered mediation of his Majesty, and of the principles of moderation and justice at present adopted by the French Republic.

(Signed) "FREDERIC WILLIAM."

Berlin, May, 1, 1795.

In the month of May M. Fouquier Tinville, the President of the late Revolutionary Tribunal, with three of the Judges, the Public Accuser, and eleven of the Jurors of that dreadful engine of human butchery, were found guilty of the most atrocious injustice and cruelty, during the exercise of their functions, and they were all executed in the Place de Greve. These horrible men had drawn out lists of proscription, which were daily delivered to those who executed their orders, and who instantly repaired to bring in all the persons named. If the person marked for destruction was not to be found, the impatience of the messengers, and the promptitude of the revolutionary system, precluded the possibility of delay; some one whose name was similar in sound, or who had some relation or connection with him, supplied his place: it was in to remonstrate; "We were ordered to take ten, twelve, or fifteen persons from this house, and will not go away without our number; you may as well take this act of accusation as not, for you will have one sooner or later." The Revolutionary Committee of Nantz, seized all who were esteemed rich, and all men of talents,

virtue, or humanity. They at one time ordered the shooting and drowning of between four and five hundred children, the oldest of whom were not more than 14 years of age!

"George Thomas, a witness, related, that "having received an order to visit the *Entrepot*, to certify as to the pregnancy of a number of women, he found, on entering the place, a great number of dead bodies strewed the floors. "I saw", says he, "several infants, some still palpitating, and others suffocated in tubs of human excrement. I hurried along this scene of horror: my terrified aspect frightened the women; they had been accustomed to see none but their butchers! I encouraged them, and addressed them in the language of humanity; I found that 30 of them were pregnant, some seven or eight months gone with child. A few days after, I went again to see those unhappy creatures, whose situation rendered them objects of tenderness; but," adds the witness, with a faultering voice, "shall I tell you, they were all *murdered*.—The father I advanced," continued the witness, "the more was my heart appalled: there were 800 *women*, and *as many children* in the prison *Entrepot*, and in the *Masiliere* there were neither beds, straw, nor necessary vessels; the prisoners were in want of every thing. Dr. Rollin, and myself, saw five children expire within four minutes.—I accuse," continued he, "the Committee in general, of the murder of seven prisoners, whom, from want of time to examine them, they had hewn down with sabres under the window of their hall. Carrier, the Representative, as well as the Committee and their underlings, turned the drownings into jest; they called them *immersions, national baptisms, bathings, &c.*"

"Debourges, a witness, says, "I have seen nothing but drownings, guillotining, and shootings. Being once on guard, I commanded a detachment that conducted the fourth *en masse* of women to be shot at Gigan. When I arrived, I found the dead bodies of 75 women already

stretched on the spot; they were quite naked. I was informed that they were girls from 15 to 18 years of age. When they had the misfortune not to fall dead after the shot, they were dispatched with sabres."

Labenette, a witness, says, "I have been an eye-witness of severals drownings of men, women with child, girls, boys, and infants, indiscriminately; I have also seen people, of *all those descriptions*, shot in the public squares, &c. I was physician to one of the prisons, and was near being displaced, because I was too humane."

The Widow Dumey, a witness, says, "that she is the widow of the late keeper of the *Entrepot;* that she saw 50 priests brought there, robbed of all their effects, and drowned, with some women and little children. A child of 14 years old was tied with others to be drowned; his cries for his father would have pierced the heart of a tiger; Lambertye tied him, however, and drowned him with the rest."

The witnesses on these trials were numerous, and the facts they attested were dreadful. Seven hundred women were confined, in one house, which, even as a prison, was too small for 200; 40 were crammed into one little chamber: for seven months this house had no infirmary, the sick and the dead were often extended among the living. Women were drowned in lighters, with infants sucking at their breasts. Numbers of naked women were seen lying by the sides of the Loire, thrown up by the tide: the heaps of human bodies which had been slaughtered were partly devoured by the dogs and birds of prey. Five hundred persons were oftened drowned at one time; men, women, and children, were all stripped naked, and, whilst sinking in the railed lighters their cries were piteous, and they put their arms through the railing, which were often hacked off by the sabres of the attendants.

One witness, Bourdin, giving an account of several shootings, says "the last that I saw was of 88 women; they were shot, stripped, and afterwards exposed for three

days. When the shootings *en masse* first began, the prisoners retained their clothes till they were dead: the old clothes dealers followed them whilst going to execution, bargaining on the way with the soldiers for their garments; but they discovered, that the clothes being shot through, and often clotted with blood, decreased their value; the soldiers, therefore, afterwards stripped their prisoners naked before their execution."

The women with child, after being placed in the lighters to be drowned, were sometimes delivered amongst the water and mud: the groans and shrieks occasioned by their lamentable condition, excited no compassion, and they were drowned with their new born infants. The soul sickens at these scenes of horror, at this indiscriminate slaughter of the innocent, and the guilty, of every rank, age, and sex—at this terrible waste of human life!

About a fortnight after the execution of these ruffians, a violent insurrection was organized in Paris; the streets had been posted with bills, which charged the Convention with keeping bread from the people. At seven o'clock on the morning of the 20th of May, the *Generale* beat to arms; the Convention assembled at their posts, and the most tumultuous scenes ensued. The insurgents burst even into the hall of the Convention, and the galleries were filled with clamour and uproar; Ferrand, one of the representatives, was assassinated, and his head carried about on a pike. Nearly all the members fled from these horrible scenes; the few who remained behind were the friends of the Jacobins, and immediately, at the request of the triumphant faction, passed several decrees against the moderate party. In the afternoon, however, the armed force of Paris drove out the insurgents. The President thanked the citizens for having saved the Convention, and the first business they proceeded to was, to repeal the decrees extorted during the tumult, and to adopt immediate measures for the punishment of the conspirators.

In the interim it was decreed, that the deputies Bourbotte, Duquesnoy, and Duroi, who had actively favoured the insurgents, should be arrested.

The Jacobins, however, were not subdued: the man who had murdered Ferrand was taken, and condemned to death. On his way to execution, he was rescued by the *Sans Culottes* of the Fauxbourg de St. Antoine. An armed force marched against the suburb, and a conflict ensued; the military were at one period compelled to retire, but, at length, they forced the inhabitants to surrender the assassin, and to give up their arms and cannon. A military commission having been instituted, many of the leaders were tried and executed.

Insurgency was not, however, limited to Paris; an insurrection broke out at Toulon, and the insurgents with 3,000 men, and about 12 pieces of cannon, took their route towards Marseilles. They were intercepted, however, by the troops under the command of Generals Charton and Pactod, who carried 300 Toulonese prisoners to Marseilles. The result of this event obtained the entire submission of Toulon, and attached it to the interests of the Republic.

During this year, died an individual, who had a just claim to the commiseration of every humane mind;—the unfortunate son and heir apparent of Louis XVI. Ever since the autumn of 1792 he had been detained a prisoner in the Temple, a situation peculiarly pernicious to his valetudinarian state of health. His dreary confinement brought on a swelling in his knee and left wrist, the probable cause of that fever which terminated his existence, on the 9th of June. It has often been reported that he was poisoned by order of the Convention. Medical assistance, however, was afforded him during his illness, and it is hoped that this evil does not lie to their charge. The Convention, soon after, voluntarily offered to liberate the Princess, the only surviving branch of that unfortunate family, in lieu of the four Commissioners who

had been arrested by General Dumourier. The Emperor of Germany complied with the proposition, and the Princess was delivered at Basle to the Austrian Envoy, the Commissioners, at the same time, being restored to their country.

The unsettled state of France, about this period, the disturbances by which Paris had been lately convulsed, and the factions and divisions which were apparent, even in the bosom of the Convention, seemed to imperiously demand a regular system of government, the executive power of which might be so energetic as to be able to triumph over opposition, and stifle insurrection in the bud. The Convention were incessantly employed in the formation of a new constitution; and, on the 23d of June, it was presented by the Committee of Eleven, when all the articles were separately discussed in a long, able, and argumentative manner. Some of them were referred back to the Committee for their further and more deliberate examination. The Convention restored primary assemblies; and the whole fabric might be said to have been radically changed. After two months discussion, investigation, and amendment, the Convention declared, on the 23d of August, that the coustitution was completed, and they transmitted it to the primary assemblies for their acceptance and confirmation.

This constitution consisted of 14 chapters, with an exordium or introduction respecting the rights of man, differing in no material point from that which was prefixed to the first constitution. The first chapter contained an account of the territorial possessions of the Republic: and its division into departments, cantons, and communes. The second chapter defined the political state of citizens, and declared every man born, and residing in France, whose name had been inscribed in the civic register, or who had lived one year on the territory of the Republic, and who had paid a direct contribution, a French citizen.

The forfeiture of this privilege was either by the commission of infamous crimes, or being naturalized in any foreign country. The third chapter contained a definition of the power to be exercised by the primary assemblies. They were to meet annually on the 21st of March, with full power to elect, when necessary, the members of the electoral assembly, the justice of peace and his assessors, and the president of the municipal administration of the canton, or the municipal officers of the communes which contained more than 5,000 inhabitants.

The power of the electoral assemblies was defined by the fourth title or chapter; in which it was declared that they should choose, when necessary, the members of the legislative body, of the tribunal of annulment, the high jurors, the administrators of the department, the president, public accuser, and register of the criminal tribunals; and, finally, the judges of the civil tribunals. The fifth article made the legislative body consist of a Council of Ancients, and a Council of Five Hundred, who were both to reside in the same commune. The Council of Ancients consisted of 250 members, one-third of whom were to be annually renewed; and, consequently, each member retained his seat for the space of three years. The power of proposing laws belonged exclusively to the Council of Five Hundred; but the Ancients might approve of or reject them, according as they pleased. It was enacted by the sixth title or chapter, that the Executive Power should be delegated to a Directory of five members, to be chosen by the legislative body, to be 40 years of age at least, and either formerly members of the legislative or general agents of execution. It was to have one new member elected annually, and was to provide for the internal and external security of the Republic; to dispose of the armed force, choose generals, and superintend the execution of the laws, and the coining of money. The Council of Five Hundred was to draw up a list of fifty

members, by secret scrutiny, from among which the Council of Ancients were to elect five members to compose the Directory.

From this constitution the most sanguine hopes were entertained. The Republicans considered it as a defence against the encroachments of powerful individuals on the liberties of the people, and as securing the enjoyment of every political privilege.

THE END OF CHAP. XXVIII.

CHAPTER XXIX

An historical and descriptive Sketch of the Island of Corsica, the Birth-place of Napoleon Buonaparté.

DURING the time that the French arms were victorious in every part of the continent of Europe, to which they been borne, and whilst they were "conquering peace," with Prussia, Spain, Hesse Cassel, and Hanover; when every continental power with whom they warred, seemed either paralized by imbecility, or maddened to exertion by frenzy, and France herself was daily acquiring immense physical strength, and adding new states to her dominion; whilst the Republican troops were taking possession of the Low Countries, the Stadtholder and his family flying for refuge to the British shores, and the British army retreating before the French, who pursued them through Holland, the English cabinet were deeply engaged in directing the conquest and annexation of the island of Corsica to the crown of Great Britain.

Seven cities disputed for the honour of having given birth to Homer. The favoured city, and its remembrance are like sepultured by the operations of time; and the enthusiast of ancient poesy laments, that he knows not where to place his foot, and to exclaim with certainty, "Here was born the father of Greek poetry, and the most exalted genius that the world hath seen." The reverence and esteem which were entertained for the wise and the good, our admiration of the hero, and our love of the patriot, our veneration of the moralist, and our respect for the philosopher, attach us to the localities that are marked by some peculiar circumstances of their career. Their birth-place, the scenes where they spent their youth, or where declined in their age, the apartments in which they were cradled, or the tombs which received

their remains, exceedingly interest our feelings, and excite the fondest rememberances. So also our hatred of the bad, our detestation of the tyrant, and our contempt for the weak and the foolish, induce in us corresponding sensations, on beholding any object which recals their wickedness, their crimes, or their vanity, to our recollection.

The inconsiderable island of Corsica has many claims to the notice of the philosophical historian: he that would record events for the instruction of posterity, must not merely narrate their occurrence, he must investigate the origin of tyranny and of treason, of success, and of defeat, in the council, in the senate, and in the field. The means by which the few controul the many, and by which the people are transferred from one master to another; the policy which ensured their effectual resistance, or their final subdual; the genius, the talents, the arts, the manners, and the literature of a country, are to be dispassionately estimated, compared, and reasoned by the historian, or future generations will receive no advantage from his industry. A state may be small, but the people may be great; it may have little power, but much principle; be liable to great oppression, and yet possess much independence. A great and a powerful state may be composed of a slavish, depraved, and unenlightened people, without arts and without industry; its political strength may be greater than the former, whilst its moral advantages are less. Corsica affords an ample illustration of these remarks; and, were it allowable to investigate history in this work, admirable examples of the virtue, and the patriotism of its natives might be adduced; that island is only considered of importance here, and its history will be sketched, and its present situation be described, merely, to gratify the curiosity which is naturally excited, respecting that country which gave birth to Napoleon Buonaparté.

Corsica is an island situated in the Mediterranean sea,

and separated from the island of Sardinia, by the strait of Bonifacio; it is about 170 miles East of Toulon, 100 miles South of Genoa, and 80 miles South-west of Leghorn. It is 150 miles in length from North to South, and from 40 to 50 miles in breadth; it is about 500 miles in circumference, and is bordered by many bays and promontories.

The atmosphere is pure and healthy, and it is one of the most temperate countries in the South of Europe. The harbours are very numerous; on the North it has Conturi, on the West St. Fiorenzo, Isola Rossa, Calvi and Ajaccio; on the South Bonifacio; and on the East Porto Vecchio, Bastia, and Macinajo. A chain of mountains rises beyond Aleria, stretching across the island from East to West, but not dividing it in equal parts, although the great division of Corsica is into the *Di quà dei Monti*, the country on this side the mountains, and the *Di là dei Monti*, the country on the other side the mountains, reckoning from Bastia: the coast is diversified by mountainous rocky hills, covered with vines, olives, and mulberries, and by plains and rich waving lands, abounding with corn and pasturage: the province of Balagna may be called the garden of Corsica; near St. Fiorenzo, however, are some low marshy grounds, which render that town very unhealthy: the interior of the island is, in general, mountainous, but interspersed with fruitful vallies, and large tracts of inhabited woodland. The farmers live in villages, so that there is scarcely a detached farm-house to be seen.

The island is extremely well watered; it has many lakes and rivers, but none of the rivers are navigable, for their currents are extremely rapid, and sometimes the torrents, after great rains, bring down fragments from the mountains, large enough to dash a vessel to pieces: their produce is confined to trouts and eels, but on the coast are found sturgeons and pilchards of exquisite taste, and remarkably fine oysters. The animals of the island

are horses of a very small breed, very similar to shelties; asses, and mules, very small, but strong, and black cattle, which are larger in proportion, but they give very little milk, and their flesh is tough: the natives use oil instead of butter, but make, in some parts, a good deal of cheese. Goats browse on the hills, and the sheep are very fine, the pasture being better adapted to the smaller animals. The forests abounded with deer, and an animal resembling a stag, with horns like a ram; it is wild and called a muffoli. The Corsicans delight in hunting the wild boar, for which they have a breed of dogs peculiarly excellent: they have hares and foxes, but neither rabbits nor wolves; they have plenty of birds and game, and no poisonous animals. The forests are extensive, with every kind of forest trees; pomegranate trees grow to great perfection, as well as the mulberry, and,

> "The arbutus rears his scarlet fruit
> Luxuriant, mantling o'er the craggy steeps."

The grain, is wheat, barley, rye, and millet: honey is obtained in vast quantities, but the taste is rather bitter. In the island are mines of lead, iron, copper, silver, alum, and saltpetre; granite, porphyry, jasper, and rock chrystal, are very abundant, and great quantities of coral are fished up on the coast.

Bastia, which is on the East side of the island, is considered the capital of Corsica; it has a noble appearance from the sea, being built on the declivity of a hill: it has a castle which commands the town and harbour: its cathedral is not remarkable, but the church of St. John is a fine building; the port, however, cannot be entered by ships of war. Corte is in the centre of the island, and is *properly* the capital: it is situated partly at the foot and partly on the declivity of a rock, in a plain, surrounded by mountains of a prodigious height, and at the confluence of the rivers Tavignano and Restonica. Upon

the point of a rock which rises above the rest, is the castle, which has only one winding passage to climb up to it, and where only two persons can go abreast: this town has a university.

Ajaccio, which is on the West side of the island, and is the handsomest town, claims the distinction of having given birth to Napoleon Buonaparté: it has many good straits and beautiful walks, with a citadel and a palace. The inhabitants of Ajaccio are the most genteel and well-bred people in the island: it contains the remains of a colony of Greeks, who formed a settlement there in 1677. The harbour is wide, safe, and commodious, and has an excellent mole.

Calvi, situated on the West side of the island, has nothing remarkable but a large and convenient harbour. Corsica has numerous other towns, but those already mentioned are the principal.

The Greeks called this island Callista and Cyrnus: the Romans knew it by its present name; it was first inhabited by a colony of Phenicians, and afterwards by the Phoceans, the Etruscans, and the Carthaginians successively: then came the Romans, who settled two colonies here. After the fall of the Roman empire, it passed through the hands of the Goths, the Greek Emperors, the Lombards, and the Saracens.

In the eighth century Corsica was conquered by Charles Martel, who presented it to the see of Rome, by whom it was afterwards transferred to the Pisans, and from whom it was conquered by Genoa. The Genoese treated the natives so tyrannically that they were often in a state of insurgency, which, for want of a leader, was soon suppressed.

Henry II. of France, assisted by Solyman, the magnificent Emperor of the Turks, invaded the island in the year 1553, and they were joined by the insurgent inhabitants; but the Genoese, assisted by Charles V. of Spain, prevented their successes. The war was terminated by

an accomodation honourable to the Corsicans. The dominion of the Genoese was intolerable: they exercised all the rigour that arbitrary power could inflict, and practised every species of extortion and cruelty: they degraded the noble families, sent multitudes of natives to the gallies for trifling offences, prohibited all foreign trade with the natives, and put over them needy adventurers for governors, whose desperate fortunes rendered them haughty, avaricious, and tyrannical.

The Corsicans were despised, oppressed, and plundered until the year 1729, when a poor elderly woman being unable to pay to a Genoese collector a Paoli, a piece of money of about the value of five-pence English currency, her effects were seized. The inhabitants eagerly espoused her cause, a conflict ensued, and they became masters of the capital, and proceeded to elect military chiefs. The Genoese, unable to subdue them alone, solicited, and obtained, the powerful assistance of the Emperor Charles VI. The Corsicans were once more compelled to enter into an accommodation with their tyrants; on condition, however, that the Emperor would guarantee the treaty, which was accordingly signed in 1735.

This treaty was violated the next year, by the Genoese, and the Corsicans resumed their arms. They elected for their General, Giafferi, one of their military chiefs in the last insurrection; and with him they associated Giacento Paoli, a gentleman of good family, of distinguished merit, and the father of the celebrated General Pascal Paoli. It was during this war, in the year 1736, that Theodore Baron Neuhoff appeared in the island, with assurances to the Corsicans of very powerful assistance. This singular person was of the county of Marck, in Westphalia. He had his education in the French service, and had travelled, in pursuit of different projects, into England, the Netherlands, and Italy. He was a man of abilities and address; and having conceived the design of becoming King of Corsica, he went to Tunis,

where he found means to obtain a supply of money, arms, and ammunition. He then repaired to Leghorn, whence he wrote a letter to the Corsican chiefs Giafferi and Paoli, offering considerable assistance to the nation, on condition that they would elect him their king. In consequence of the favourable manner in which this application was received he landed in Corsica, in the spring of 1736. He was a person of a very stately appearance, and the Turkish dress which he wore, added to the dignity of his mien. He brought with him about 1,000 zechins of Tunis, besides arms and ammunition. His manners were so engaging, and his promises of foreign assistance so plausible and magnificent, that he was immediately proclaimed King. He assumed every mark of royal dignity, had his guards and officers of state, conferred titles of honour, and coined money, both silver and copper. He immediately blocked up the Genoese fortifications, and was neither inactive nor unsuccessful in his warlike operations; but the powerful assistance he had promised not having arrived, the Corsicans exhibited marks of disapprobation. In about eight months after his election he found it expedient to leave them; assuring them that he would go in person in search of the long-expected succours; and, having formed a plan of administration in his absence, he quitted the island in November. The courts of Great Britain and France had forbidden their subjects, by proclamation, from furnishing any kind of assistance to the Corsicans. He repaired, therefore, to Holland, where he procured credit to a great extent, from several rich merchants, who trusted him with cannon, and other warlike stores, under the charge of a supercargo. With these he returned to Corsica in 1739; and, on his arrival, says the Historian of Corsica, "he put to death the supercargo, that he might not have any trouble from demands being made upon him."—The French, however, became so powerful in the island, that although Theodore threw in his supply of

warlike stores, he durst not venture his person, the Genoese having set a high price upon his head. He chose, therefore, to relinquish his throne, and to sacrifice his ambition to his safety. In a word, after experiencing great vicissitudes of fortune, he came to England; but his situation here, by degrees, grew wretched, and he was reduced to such distress as to be several years before his death, confined for debt in this island of liberty.

The late Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, greatly interested himself in procuring a subscription in favour of the fortunate Theodore: "How must I blush for my countrymen," says he, "when I mention a monarch, an unhappy monarch, now actually suffered to languish for debt in one of the common prisons of this city! A monarch, whose courage raised him to a throne, not by a succession of ambitious bloody acts, but by the voluntary election of an injured people, who had the common right of mankind to freedom and the uncommon resolution of determining to be free! This prince is Theodore, King of Corsica! a man, whose claim to royalty is as indisputable as the most ancient titles to any monarchy can pretend to be; that is, the *choice of his subjects*; the only kind of title, allowed in the excellent Gothic constitutions, from whence we derive our own; the same kind of title, which endears the present royal family to Englishmen; and the only kind of title, against which, perhaps, no objection can lie.

"This prince," he continues, "after having bravely exposed his life and crown in defence of the rights of his subjects, miscarried, as Cato and other patriot heroes did before him. For many years he struggled with fortune, and left no means untried, which indefatigable policy or solicitation of succours could attempt, to recover his crown. At last, when he had discharged his duty to his subjects and himself, he chose this country for his retirement; not to indulge a voluptuous inglorious ease, but to enjoy the participation of those blessings, which he

had so vainly endeavoured to fix to his Corsicans. Here for some months he bore, with more philosophic dignity, the loss of his crown, than Charles V. Casimir of Poland, or any of those visionaries, who wantonly resigned theirs, to partake the sluggish indolence, and, at length, the disquiets, of a cloister. Theodore, though resigned to his fortunes, had none of that contemptible apathy, which almost lifted our James II. to the supreme honour of monkish sainthood.

"The veracity of an historian obliges me not to disguise the situation of his Corsican Majesty's revenue, which has reduced him to be a prisoner for debt in the King's Bench; and so cruelly has fortune exercised her rigours upon him, that, last session of parliament, he was examined before a Committee of the House of Commons, on the hardships to which the prisoners in that gaol had been subject. Yet let not ill-nature make sport with these misfortunes! His Majesty had nothing to blush at, nothing to palliate, in the recapitulation of his distresses. The debts on his civil lists were owing to no misapplication, no improvidence of his own, no corruption of his ministers, no indulgence to favourites or mistresses. His diet was philosophic, his palace humble, his robes decent; yet his butcher, his landlady, and his tailor, could not continue to supply an establishment, which had no demesnes to support it, no taxes to maintain it, no excises, no lotteries, to provide funds for its deficiencies and emergencies."

Mr. Walpole proceeds with some other observations, in the same strain, and then proposes "a subscription for a *subsidy* for the use of his Corsican Majesty."—This actually took place, and a very handsome sum was produced. Some gentlemen waited upon him with the amount of the subscription. His lodging was in a garret; an armed-chair under the tester of his bedstead, was the only state which marked the reception of the deputation. He was, at last freed from prison by an act of insolvency,

in consequence of which he made over his kingdom of Corsica for the benefit of his creditors, and which was actually registered accordingly. He died soon after, and was buried in the churchyard of St. Anne's, Soho, where a plain monument is erected to him, with the following inscription:

Near this place is interred Theodore, King of Corsica, who died in this parish, December 11, 1756, immediately after leaving the King's Bench Prison, by the benefit of the act of insolvency; in consequence of which he registered his kingdom of Corsica for the benefit of his creditors.

The Grave, great Teacher! to a level brings
Heroes, and beggars, galley-slaves, and kings;
But Theodore this moral learn'd, ere dead:
Fate pour'd its lesson on his living head,
Bestow'd a kingdom, and deny'd him bread.

Theodore left a son, who lived many years in this country, under the name of Colonel Frederick, and who shot himself in the year 1796, in great distress of mind, occasioned by the indigence of his circumstances, under the portal of Westminster Abbey. The Colonel had a son, an officer in the British army, who was killed in the American war. The Genoese now had recourse to the French King, who sent an army into the island in 1738, and, 1740, effectually reduced it. At the end of the year 1741, the French having more important objects in view, withdrew their forces from the island, after having put the Genoese in complete possession of it. But the moment that the French had left the island, the Corsicans resumed their arms; and, from that period, the war continued, under different chiefs, till 1755, when Pascal Paoli was elected to the chief command. Great Britain had forbidden her subjects to give any assistance to the Corsicans; but, in 1745, in consequence of a revolution in her political connections, some English ships of war,

with a Corsican chief on board, were sent into the Mediterranean, as auxiliaries to the King of Sardinia. These ships bombarded Bastia and Fiorenzo, of which they put the Corsicans in possession. At the peace, however, in 1763, a severe proclamation was issued by the British court, in which these brave islanders were styled *rebels*. Paoli had the address to engage all ranks to exert themselves in providing what was necessary for carrying on the war with spirit, and soon drove the Genoese to the most remote corners of the island. He rectified innumerable abuses, and formed a regular system of administration. He civilized the manners of the Corsicans, established a university, and settled schools for the instruction of children in every village of the kingdom. He induced the Corsicans to apply to agriculture, commerce, and civil occupations, which had been interrupted, to the ruin of industry, by the long continuance of the war. The nation became firm and united; and, had not the French again interposed, the Corsicans would have entirely expelled the Genoese from the island. But, when Paoli was on the point of successfully terminating the war, the Genoese, in 1764, concluded a treaty with the French, by which the latter engaged to garrison the fortified towns of Corsica for the term of four years. In 1767, the Genoese sold their claim of sovereignty to the French King, who, that very year, in addition to the garrisons already in Corsica, sent another powerful body of troops, under the command of the Count de Vaux. Flattering manifestoes were published, in order to induce the Corsicans to become subjects of France; but, fired by the love of liberty, they defeated the French in several engagements. Fresh troops being sent from France, the contest, at length, became too unequal; the natives, weakened by their victories, were obliged so submit; and, in June 1769, the brave Paoli, compelled to abandon his country to its fate, embarked on board an English ship, landed at Leghorn, and, repairing soon after to London,

lived there many years, protected and supported by the British court.

Corsica being thus subdued, the French commander proceeded to new model the government of the island, which was placed under the jurisdiction of the parliament of Provence. In the mean time, the natives abandoned their country in great numbers; while the most intrepid of those that remained took shelter in the mountainous parts, whence they seized every opportunity of falling upon their enemies, when separated into small parties; and they put to death, without mercy, all the French that fell into their hands. As nothing could subdue the unconquerable spirit of the natives, the most shocking cruelties were, at length, exercised upon all of them who were made prisoners; and by the year 1778, when the French King, who had *enslaved* these islanders, declared himself the protector and guardian of the *liberties* of America (an interference, which, in the event, proved so fatal to himself) the poor, friendless, and deserted Corsicans, were nearly extirpated.

The memorable revolution of France in 1789, produced, at last, an unexpected change in the political aspect of Corsica. From the period in which it was conquered, this island had been retained in subjection by the strong fetters only of military despotism. They had never ratified the infamous contract by which a nation was transferred, like a flock of sheep, from the dominion of Genoa to that of France. The meeting of the States General at Versailles had revived, within the bosoms of these brave men, the unsubdued spirit of liberty, and the hopes of being reinstated in their rights. These hopes were succeeded by a sinister rumour, that they were once more to be ceded to the detested dominion of Genoa; or, at least, that they were to be still retained as a servile appendage to a land of freedom. In such a state of doubt and perplexity the passions of the multitude are easily excited.

They proposed immediately to form a national guard; the citizens of Bastia assembled for that purpose in the church of St. John; the army marched to disperse them, and in the contest some lives were lost. In this state of ferment the island remained, when deputies (among whom was Pascal Paoli who, at this important crisis, had revisited his native country) appeared at the bar of the National Constituent Assembly, entreating, in the name of the people of Corsica, that they might be irrevocably united, by a decree of the legislature, to the French nation, as a constituent part of the empire. Such a request was too reasonable and too flattering to the Assembly not to be instantly complied with; and Corsica was decreed to be an eighty-third department of France. This was followed by a motion of the Count de Mirabeau (who lamented that his youth had been disgraced by participating in the conquest of this island) to restore all who had emigrated, except on account of civil crimes, to their rank, their rights, and their property. The illustrious Paoli, who had so often appeared as the General in Chief, was now content to be commandant of the national guard at Bastia.

In the year 1790 Buonaparté received the command of a battallion of national guards at Ajaccio, and remained on duty in his native town, until he re-entered the corps of artillery to which he had formerly been attached, and for his services at Toulon, received the rank of General. This instance of wisdom and liberality in the first National Assembly of France (who, at the time that they solemnly renounced all views of war and conquest, appeared desirous of establishing, throughout their empire, the blessings of real liberty) seemed to promise an inseparable connection between France and Corsica. But, on the dissolution of this assembly (the virtuous members of which had imprudently disqualified themselves from being reelected in the next) their successors were men of very inferior talents and characters, and actuated by less enlightened

views. The events which followed the revolution of the 10th of August 1792 were not such as were calculated to ensure the attachment of the Corsicans to the new Republic. Dissatisfaction with the measures of the French Convention, and particularly with those which evinced an intention to overthrow all religion, became so manifest, that it soon excited to suspicion, and roused to violence. On the 2d of April 1793, the popular society of Toulon accused General Paoli to the Convention, as a supporter of despotism. They alledged, that the General, in concert with the administrators of the department, had inflicted every kind of hardship upon the patriots, and at the same time favoured the Emigrants and the refractory priests. They demanded that he should fall under the avenging sword of the law. The Convention decreed that General Paoli, and the Attorney-general of the department of Corsica, should be ordered to the bar to give an account of their conduct.

On the 4th, of May, however, the Convention received a letter from the Commissioners sent to Corsica, to arrest General Paoli, that they thought it unsafe to attempt that measure for the present, and on the 16th of the same month, a letter was read from the General, regretting that his extreme old age, and bodily infirmities, rendered it impossible for him to cross the sea, and afterwards travel 200 leagues by land, to appear at the bar of the Convention, but offering to retire from his country, if it were deemed necessary to the safety and peace of Corsica. In October, however, Paoli sent a pressing request to Lord Hood, for a few ships, to co-operate with him against the French in the island, and to attack the redoubt of Fornilli (a post about two miles distant from the town of Florenze.) Captain Linzee, however, failed, from false intelligence being giving him respecting a range of cannon, which annoyed him from the town, and also from the want of ardour on the part of the Corsicans, who had promised to storm the posts on the land side,

Louis Napoleon Buonaparte,
King of Holland.

Pub. by Jones & Bumford, 1808.

Gen. Marceau.

Pub. by Jones & Bumford 1808.

Louis Wm. Otto.

Pub. by Jones & Bumford, 1808.

Constantine.
Grand Duke of Russia.

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Prince Bagration.

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Louis, 16.th
late
King of France!

Pub.by M.Jones, July 14.1806.

Charlotte Corde.

Pub.d by M.Jones, Oct.r 1.1806.

Josephine,
Empress of France.

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